

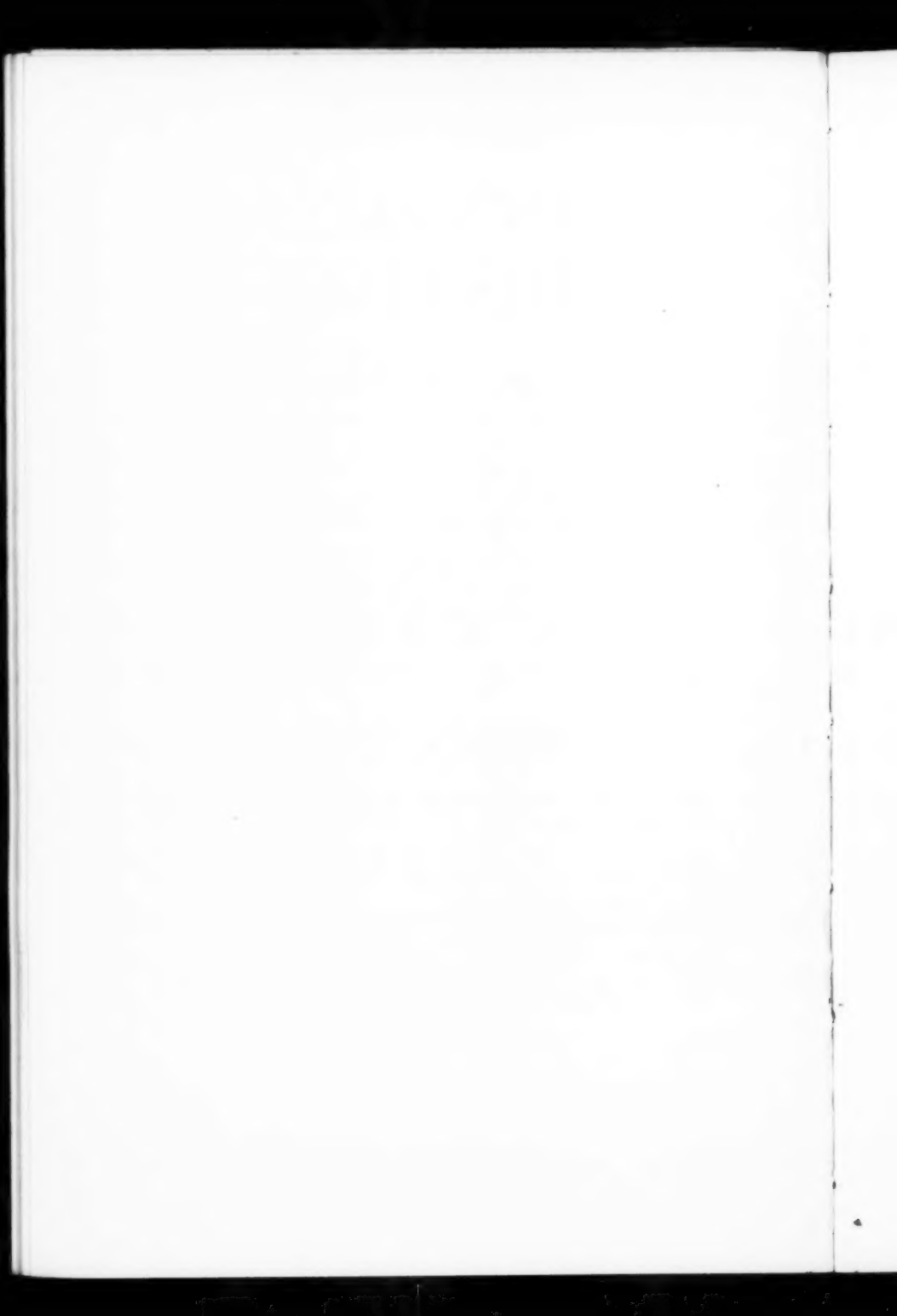
# MINNESOTA HISTORY

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## ON THE TRAIL OF THE WOODSMAN IN MINNESOTA<sup>1</sup>

When the Pilgrim Fathers chopped the first white pine to provide them with shelter in the immense wilderness to which they had come, they little realized that they were launching one of America's greatest industries, the manufacture of lumber. As people sought haven in America in ever greater numbers they began literally to absorb the pine around them, and they looked for new forests to supply the needs of the ever-growing population. Then began the trek of the woodsman into regions of untouched monarchs. The woodsman became an explorer. He moved ever westward. He marched in the vanguard of civilization. Surely he, no less than the fur-trader and the cowboy, deserves a place in the history of the West—and his name, like theirs, is passing into history. The kingship in the north woods of the "jack," the "riverman," and the "cruiser" is sinking into oblivion.

On the shores of the Atlantic the woodsman found the first white pine. It fell before his ax in Maine, and New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin in turn gave up their supplies. Westward, ever westward, moved this woodsman. The white pine in the region of the upper Mississippi was the last to go. There it had stood serenely for centuries. It had known only the red man as he glided in and out, and saws and axes were not tools peculiar to him. But one day these same pines sensed tragedy. The "army of axes" was upon them, and the harvesting of the white pine was to continue until its disreputable relative, the jack pine, was all that remained.

<sup>1</sup>A paper read on July 15, 1932, at the Moorhead session of the eleventh state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

It was in 1836 and 1837 that the woodsman began his work within Minnesota's boundaries. Pines, centuries old, faced the woodsman's ax, and the monarchial achievement of the ages came crashing down. As the gold-diggers sought California and the Klondike, so the "pine hungry" lumbermen were attracted to the forests of Minnesota. Hither trekked men from Maine—men who had driven logs on the powerful Penobscot, like Daniel Stanchfield; or who had lived on the banks of the Androscoggin, like William D. Washburn; or who had labored on the banks of the turbulent St. Croix, which separates Maine from Canada. The names of many Mainites who came into the upper Mississippi territory are well known in Minnesota today—DeLaittre, Bovey, Eastman, Stanchfield, Morrison, and Washburn. On the banks of the Mississippi and of its tributaries, they found what they sought, and in the region of the virgin pine they settled down to make their homes. Tozier, Hersey, Staples, McKusick are names familiar in the St. Croix lumber region, and the men who bore them likewise came from Maine and New Brunswick in quest of forests. Stephen Hanks, who logged on the Snake River, a branch of the St. Croix, in 1841, found that most of his coworkers were old loggers from Maine and other eastern logging states.<sup>2</sup> Men old in the business of lumber today give to the men of Maine unstinted praise: "Maineites knew logging."

These newcomers did not come as single men in big gangs, here when the season was on and gone when it was over. They came to stay, they brought their families. They settled in the woods and carried on logging as their chosen life work. If they had little farms, these were but incidental to their chief business. The first operators in

<sup>2</sup> "Memoir of Capt. S[tephen] B. Hanks," vol. 2. These recollections in six volumes of an early Minnesota lumberman were written from his dictation by Mr. C. B. Paddock in 1907 and 1908. The manuscript is now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

the pine forests of Minnesota were pioneers who ventured into the new country for the purpose of cutting timber for a livelihood, and not for speculation.<sup>3</sup>

Though the early woodsmen were largely from New England there were some New Yorkers, some French and Scotch from Canada, some Irish, and occasionally a German, a Norwegian, or a Swede. The Scotch who came into Minnesota from Canada were from the Glengary district below Ottawa. MacDonald, MacIntosh, MacLain, and MacLaughlin are names still heard in Minnesota. The Scotch loggers were men of repute, and they often developed sufficient skill to be advanced to the position of cruiser; others became foremen of camps; and some went into the business of logging for themselves.<sup>4</sup>

Then came also the hardy, rawboned French-Canadian, who was proud of his hairy chest which showed through the unbuttoned collar of his black and red flannel shirt. This French-Canadian was full of imagination; he had a store of songs; and he was known for his speed and general efficiency. He was said to have been "born with an ax in his hand," and he moved with the "tall pine." He was at home in no other place, and when the pine was gone he, too, was gone.<sup>5</sup> He excelled as a sawyer, but was also known widely for his skill in handling the cant hook. He

<sup>3</sup>William H. C. Folsom, "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9: 296.

<sup>4</sup>George H. Warren, *The Pioneer Woodsman as He Is Related to Lumbering in the Northwest*, 78 (Minneapolis, 1914); interview with Mr. Robert Ap Roberts of the office of the surveyor general of logs, St. Paul, June 17, 1932. Much of the material used in the preparation of this paper was gathered through interviews with men who have engaged in the logging business in Minnesota, particularly during the pioneer period. Several of the men interviewed are now over eighty years of age, but they were youths when they began work in the Minnesota forests.

<sup>5</sup>*Mississippi Valley Lumberman* (Minneapolis), vol. 21, no. 4, p. 6 (January 22, 1892); interview with Mr. J. W. Bayly of Duluth, August 13, 1932. The firm with which this lumberman was connected — Alger, Smith and Company — at one time employed the largest number of loggers of any firm in the Duluth lumber district.

could serve both as a top loader and a landing man, and so he was much in demand. The Canadian plays no humble part in the development of the lumber industry.

The meagerness and simplicity of the conditions under which the woodsman worked offer a strange contrast to the later methods used in lumbering by "big business." A shanty, low and dark, served as the woodsman's living quarters. It was built of logs; its sides were never more than four feet high, and the roof was steep and sometimes ran almost to the ground. "One had to learn to stoop in those days," according to a tall lanky Irishman of eighty-one summers, who has lived his life in the logging camps and knows its evolution. The gables were built of logs, for windows were very rare. The shanty varied in size, depending upon the number in the crew. One on the banks of the Snake River in 1841 was twenty-five by forty feet.<sup>6</sup> Moss and clay filled the openings between the logs to keep the warmth in. The shanty had but one big room, where at least twenty men lived during the coldest days of the year.

The life of the shanty centered about a big open fire, which baked the bread, dried the clothes, gave cheer and warmth, and illuminated many a squaw dance.<sup>7</sup> Sleeping quarters were at one end of the room. Beds of balsam boughs a foot deep gave rest at night. With their heads to the walls and their feet to the fire, the men slept side by side covered by large blankets—so large that each served for many men.<sup>8</sup> Strange it must have been at night

<sup>6</sup> *St. Croix Union* (Stillwater), March 6, 1855; Hanks, "Memoir," vol. 1. Files of the newspapers used in the preparation of this paper are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>7</sup> *Minneapolis Tribune*, December 13, 1873. There were few white women living near the lumber camps, and the Indian women were invited to the lumberjack's dances. Woodsmen tell that the endurance of the squaws when dancing surpassed even that of the lumberjacks.

<sup>8</sup> In an interview on August 14, 1932, Mr. Michael McAlpine of Grand Rapids recalled that "on the drive" he had slept with eleven other men under one blanket.

to see by the glow of the fire the bewhiskered faces of the lumberjacks peering out above the blankets. There were whiskers like Paul Bunyan's and there were those like Abraham's of old. A grindstone, a wash sink, and a barrel of water were also parts of the equipment of the men's sleeping quarters.

At the farther end of the shanty was the kitchen. Cooking was not very complex. It was done over the open fire or in the bean hole. The cook had a wooden crane by which he moved the red hot kettles over the burning logs. Bread was baked in a reflector standing beside the open fire. Beans were put into a Dutch oven and buried in the bean hole, which was alongside of the big fire. They cooked mysteriously at night while the men slept, and were ready to be served in the morning with boiled salt pork. Both dishes appeared again at noon and at night, and for a change on Sundays the salt pork was fried. Bread, sometimes in the form of hot biscuits, salt pork, black strap, and bean-hole beans, eulogized by the early woodsmen, formed the regular diet. Once in a while a mince or an apple pie appeared. Venison, fish, and fowl were sometimes a happy change, and one lumberjack speaks of being served with a "fine mess of red squirrels in a delicious stew."<sup>9</sup> The early woodsmen ate and slept in the one-room Maine shanty or hovel, where their cooking and baking were done. They lived together like one family. Such were the humble beginnings of a big industry in Minnesota.

John Boyce was the first to assemble a crew to cut pine in the region of what is now Minnesota. In a Mackinaw boat he traveled from St. Louis in the fall of 1837, setting camp where the Snake River rolls into the proud St. Croix.

<sup>9</sup>*St. Anthony Express*, January 31, 1852; *St. Croix Union*, March 6, 1855; Martin Page, "The Camp in the 50's," in *Daily Telegram* (Eau Claire, Wisconsin), February 24, 1916; Hanks, "Memoir," vol. 2. The item from the *Telegram* is a clipping in the William Bartlett Collection in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

His outfit consisted of eleven men and six oxen.<sup>10</sup> More meager still was the crew of Franklin Steele, who became a prominent lumber promoter in Minnesota. When he first "fleshed his axe" in the wilderness of the St. Croix in 1837 his outfit consisted of an ox, a cart, and six half-breeds.<sup>11</sup>

Ten years later camps began to appear on the Rum River, a tributary of the Mississippi, where Anoka now stands. In 1847 Daniel Stanchfield placed the first logging camp there with twenty men to cut the pine. And in 1848 Sumner W. Farnham, a son of the surveyor of logs on the St. Croix River in Maine, established a second logging camp on the Rum River.<sup>12</sup> By 1852 twenty-two firms of loggers were operating on this river alone. In that year Minnesota's lumber brought a net revenue of \$2,500,000 — a sum more equally divided among the "bone and sinew" of the territory than that from almost any other trade.<sup>13</sup>

Pine was plentiful and water on which to transport the logs was there, but food was scarce, and that which was to be had was very expensive. A logging team required much food. In the usual outfit in 1852 there were from six to eight oxen and from twelve to fourteen men. Two of the men were choppers, two or three were swampers, two sled tenders, two barkers, two sawyers, one a teamster, and one a cook. Three hundred bushels of corn, two hundred bushels of oats, twenty barrels of flour, a hundred and fifty pounds of lard, ten bushels of beans, six hundred pounds of beef, and fifteen tons of hay were the foodstuffs necessary for such a crew during five long cold winter months.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Wilson P. Shortridge, "Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier," *ante*, 3: 120; Edward W. Durant, "Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 648 (part 2).

<sup>11</sup> *Express*, January 21, 1854.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Stanchfield, "History of Pioneer Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9: 357.

<sup>13</sup> *Express*, January 31, April 10, 1852.

<sup>14</sup> *Express*, January 31, 1852; January 21, 1853.

In 1836 Nicollet found that at Fort Snelling fifteen dollars were paid for a barrel of flour and twenty-five dollars for a barrel of pork. These articles had no doubt been purchased for five or eight dollars in St. Louis. In 1837 Franklin Steele paid four dollars a barrel for beans, eleven dollars for flour, and forty dollars for pork. Even in the late fifties wheat cost four dollars a bushel and flour ten dollars a barrel.<sup>15</sup> The woodsman used to fine advantage meadow hay, wild rice, and maple sugar, but there were not enough farmers in Minnesota to supply him with the necessary corn, oats, and wheat. Such provisions must all come from down river.<sup>16</sup> In 1846 Stephen Hanks bought at St. Louis for John McKusick, who was then the lumber magnate of Stillwater, several tons of food, including uncured bacon, eggs, beans, hominy, and dried apples. At Bellevue above St. Louis he bought fifty barrels of flour and several barrels of whisky. At Albany, Illinois, on the same trip, he purchased oxen and horses, paying fifty dollars in gold for a yoke of oxen. St. Louis was a market for lumber and from St. Louis in turn came the lumberman's provisions. But the exorbitant prices resulting from the distance from the source of supply and difficulties of transportation worked a real hardship on the loggers. In 1853 logging teams on the Rum River were reduced in number for this reason.<sup>17</sup>

The virtues of the Minnesota climate were extolled as a means of attracting settlers. "We wish all the world were here in Minnesota to enjoy the magnificent weather which now 'comes off' daily," reads an item in the *St. Anthony Express* of June 14, 1851. "Skies are blue and air as balmy as Italy can boast, and an atmosphere so pure as to

<sup>15</sup> Return I. Holcombe, *Compendium of History and Biography of Minneapolis and Hennepin County*, 67 (Chicago, 1914); *Express*, January 21, 1854; interview with Mr. O. D. Dahlin of Port Wing, Wisconsin, June 5, 1932.

<sup>16</sup> *Express*, November 12, 1853; *St. Croix Union*, November 3, 1854; April 24, 1855.

<sup>17</sup> Hanks, "Memoir," vol. 2; *Express*, January 21, 1853.

defy the approach of disease—of such marvelous virtue indeed as might 'create a soul under the ribs of death.'"<sup>17</sup> Territory and state attempted vigorously to attract settlers, and prominent Minnesotans carried the gospel of the North Star State to Europe—Franklin Steele, for example, to England, and Hans Mattson to Sweden. Minnesota did eventually become an agricultural state, but it was lumber providing a market for farm produce that first gave agriculture an impetus there. Pillsbury's Best and Gold Medal Flour owe something to Minnesota white pine and the early woodsman.

The early period of logging in Minnesota could well be called the hand-tool period. It was a period of heavy lifting, when plain brute strength figured. It was a period of slow motion, when the deliberate movement of the ox and the hand of man made power. The Maine men brought to the Minnesota forests the go-devil and the ax and that instrument so necessary in the drive, the peavey.<sup>18</sup> The chopper was an artist in the opinion of the woodsman. To swing the ax and strike right every time was the work of an expert, and therefore the chopper could command wages above those of other woodsmen.<sup>19</sup> These men did not know the cross-cut saw. It had not seen the light of day. It had not yet come to replace the ax, and to take from the chopper the position which he later jealously had to guard.

There was no hewing out of log roads during the period of early logging in Minnesota. The pines stood thick on the banks of streams. A go-devil, a wishbone shaped affair with a crossbar—only the crotch of a hardwood tree—

<sup>17</sup> Mr. John E. Gilmore of Minneapolis told the writer, in an interview on August 15, 1932, that the peavey was invented by a man of that name at Oldtown, Maine.

<sup>18</sup> In an interview on May 18, 1932, Mr. Jesse H. Ames, president of the Wisconsin State Teachers College at River Falls, whose father was an early Maine logger in the Northwest, told the writer that the first loggers in this region did not use cross-cut saws. See also William McDonald, "Logging Equipment and Methods," a clipping in the Bartlett Collection, from the Eau Claire *Telegram*, October 7, 1916.



### IN A LUMBERJACK'S BUNK HOUSE

[From a photograph in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



### SKIDDING LOGS WITH OXEN

[From a photograph taken at Moose River in 1900 in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



A LUMBER CAMP EXHIBIT IN THE MUSEUM OF THE CROW WING COUNTY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A go-devil appears in the foreground.

was the chief means of transportation in the woods. This rough sled sufficed to take the trees from where they fell to the landing, whence they should go downstream when the spring freshet came. When the chopper had finished his work and the tree was prostrate on the ground, the swamper came to lobe the branches. Then followed the barker, who ripped the bark from underneath so the tree would slide more easily.<sup>20</sup> The ox pulled it through the brush and snow to the landing, where it was made into logs ready for the spring drive.

The cant hook, used in rolling logs, was not so important among the tools of the early Maineites. It seems to belong rather to the Canadian, who cut the trees into logs where they fell. Thus the loggers could carry bigger loads to the landing. This brought about a change in the mode of transportation in the woods, which led to the use of bobsleds, bigger teams, bigger loads, and log roads. Early logging in Minnesota, it is evident, was a contribution of the ways of the Maineites and those of the Canadians.<sup>21</sup>

But heavier market demands were forcing a speedier output, for settlements in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska—the great treeless prairie states—were calling for lumber for homes. And in 1863 the Mississippi saw such drives of logs as it had never been a witness to before.<sup>22</sup> Wages for loggers were on the increase, evidence that the industry was making progress. In the winter of 1870, four thousand men and two thousand horses and oxen went into the woods of Minnesota. Lumber did have a setback in the panic year of 1873, but in 1874 loggers on the Mississippi found themselves hewing down the tall pine north of Grand Rapids.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> George W. Hotchkiss, *History of the Lumber and Forest of the Northwest*, 530 (Chicago, 1898).

<sup>21</sup> Stanchfield, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9: 321-361.

<sup>22</sup> *St. Cloud Democrat*, November 26, 1863.

<sup>23</sup> J. W. McClung, *Minnesota as It Is in 1870*, 149 (St. Paul, 1870); Warren, *Pioneer Woodsman*, 77. Mr. McAlpine, who went to the Grand Rapids region in 1874, asserts that he was one of the first woodsmen in the district. Interview, August 14, 1932.

In 1878 the first mill at Cloquet began its work, and the Duluth district was modestly carrying on logging.

Improvements were being made in order that production might meet the market demand. The passing of the pioneer stage of logging cannot be precisely dated, for the change depended to a considerable extent on whether a given logging establishment was that of a small owner, or of a jobber, or of a man of "big business." It was in the seventies that the more primitive methods of logging began to disappear, however. The one-room Maine shanty was passing, and in its place was coming a good-sized lumber camp with perpendicular sides, which was warmly built and lighted with windows. The new camp housed from fifty to eighty men.

Sometimes a partition separated the eating and sleeping quarters; often camps were constructed with these quarters in separate buildings. Men no longer slept on the floor, but in bunks with mattresses filled with hay, straw, or perhaps balsam boughs. The bunks were single, or double, or treble, depending upon the size of the camp. They were arranged like berths in a Pullman car. With his turkey or his tussock, the bag which held his possessions, under his head, the lumberjack rested well after the day's labor, only to be called again before the light of another day. There was no mistaking the call of the shanty boy, later known as the bull cook, when he blew the camp horn in the morning. The horn was made of tin and it was five feet long. Its din was followed by another, the call of "Daylight and the swamp boys—roll out!" or "Roll out, daylight in the swamp."<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the most original of calls was one used on the St. Croix, "Roll out, tumble out, any way to get out. This is the day to make the fortune."<sup>25</sup> Surely a

<sup>24</sup> *Stillwater Messenger*, March 21, 1873; *Tribune*, February 20, 1875; *Telegram*, March 27, 1916; *Duluth Herald*, August 21, 1926.

<sup>25</sup> This call was used on the St. Croix in the eighties, according to Mr. Dahlin. Interview, June 5, 1932.

stimulus for any lumberjack! It caused the sleeper "to tremble and start from the land of dreams to the land of pork and beans," wrote a would-be poet in 1875.<sup>26</sup>

The first ray of light sent the lumberjack to work. The teamster was up at four. His day was long, but he was of the upper caste in the hierarchy of lumberjacks. His wage compared with that of the cook, and was lower only than that of the foreman. The teamster drove thousands of feet of logs in a single load with two, four, or six horses over the iced boulevards that were introduced into Minnesota by Michigan lumbermen. He had a dare-devil's job; one accident, and he was forever gone from the list of able teamsters. The "road monkey" or "hayman on the hill" was of importance to the teamster, for it was the business of the road monkey to put hay or sand on the very steep places to be traversed by the teamster.<sup>27</sup> If he failed in his work, a dangerous accident might ensue.

Each man had his job and at break of day each was in his place. "The sharp ring of well plied axes, the crash of falling trees, and the see-saw clang of cross-cut saws . . . the rattling of chains and the crunching of snow" all made up a scene of busy toilers whose work went steadily on until the bull cook—who during the morning had supplied wood and water for the men's shanty, had washed the roller towel, cleaned the lamp, and swept the floor—blew his big horn for lunch. The noon meal was nearly always eaten in the open, for sometimes the woodsmen were several miles from camp. In a big box on a homemade sleigh drawn by a horse came the food for the big, husky, hungry woodsmen. The beans froze on their tin plates. Their whiskers froze too, though they ate around a big open fire. Then

<sup>26</sup> *Tribune*, February 20, 1875.

<sup>27</sup> *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, vol. 27, no. 9, p. 3 (February 28, 1890); Edward G. Cheney, "Development of Lumber Industry in Minnesota," in *Journal of Geography*, 14:194 (February, 1916). Mr. Arthur Sjöberg of Mora has explained much of the lumberjack's language to the writer.

more sharp ringing of well-plied axes until dark and their day was done. Work from daylight to dark was the lot of a lumberjack. No six-hour day, no eight-hour day for him!<sup>28</sup> The lumberjack took pride in hard work. Every sawyer, every teamster, every undercutter, reported to the clerk the number of feet of heavy timber he had handled during the day. Competition was keen.

The lumberjack had respect for physical prowess; he was proficient; he was trustworthy, generous, and dependable. He pitted red blood against a hard job. He was noted for his generosity; he would contribute toward a hospital or funeral bill of any fellow-worker, though he were someone almost unknown.<sup>29</sup> They had a code, these lumberjacks, and it was a chivalrous one.

At the end of a day the lumberjacks went home to partake of the cook's good meal. The cook—and what a man was he—second to none in the camp except the foreman! He was the major-domo whose precinct no one dared to invade.<sup>30</sup> It was good business, too, to stand well with the cook, for it was quite likely that somewhere he had a bit of toddy stored. In the cook's domain the bean hole had gone and the big cookstove had taken its place. The food had improved greatly. Better facilities brought better supplies. Fresh meat and mashed potatoes had been added to salt pork and beans; pound cake, rice pudding with raisins, vegetables, hot biscuits, and pies of many varieties were served to the men.<sup>31</sup> The prune, called in camp parlance the "loggin' berry," seemed to rank high. Black strap had been replaced by brown sugar, and after 1890 white sugar took the place of brown.

<sup>28</sup> *Messenger*, March 21, 1873; *Tribune*, April 29, 1876.

<sup>29</sup> Wright T. Orcutt, "The Minnesota Lumberjacks," *ante*, 6: 11. Mr. J. W. Bayly of Duluth, who was assistant to the vice president of Alger, Smith and Company and who had dealings with thousands of lumberjacks, told the writer that generosity was very characteristic of them.

<sup>30</sup> *Tribune*, April 29, 1876.

<sup>31</sup> *Tribune*, April 29, 1876; *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, vol. 19, no. 25, p. 2; vol. 21, no. 5, p. 3 (June 13, 1891; January 29, 1892).

The Stone-Ordean-Wells Company of Duluth, a wholesale grocery firm, sold the lumber concerns of the nineties ten-pound cans of peaches, plums, and pears. Oleomargarine was used almost always in place of butter—five thousand pounds of it was the usual order for a hundred men for two hundred days. Alger, Smith and Company of Duluth, a Michigan lumber firm that removed to Minnesota in the nineties, bought on the average 365 sacks of beans a year, and a sack weighed 165 pounds. Thus beans were still a good old stand-by. The annual tobacco and snuff bill of the same concern alone amounted to twenty-five thousand dollars. And the grocery bill paid by that firm to the wholesale grocers mentioned above was about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually during the period of its greatest activity in 1898 and 1899. "Has anything replaced the business which the logger gave you?" the writer asked Mr. J. Edgar Willcuts, who had charge of the supplies sent to loggers for Stone-Ordean-Wells. "Nothing," he said, "nothing. Those were the good old days."<sup>32</sup>

But to return to the lumberjack. On Saturday night a stag dance would probably take place; men with handkerchiefs around their arms played the part of women. Or by chance there was a squaw dance.<sup>33</sup> Music—such music as there was, and it was not all bad for one finds comparisons to Camilla Urso and Ole Bull—was usually furnished by a fiddler, who was as necessary in the lumber camp as the ox teamster, or perhaps by someone who played the mouth organ or the accordion. But music there was. "Hot Bottom," "Shuffle the Brogue," and "Buy My

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Mr. Willcuts, July 13, 1932. In the winter of 1887 Isaac Staples, who had a crew of three hundred men logging on the Snake and Ann rivers, ordered for their use eighteen thousand pounds of beef, a hundred and four barrels of pork, nine thousand pounds of sugar, nineteen hundred pounds of tobacco, fifteen hundred pounds of currants, and fourteen hundred pounds of prunes. *Kanabec County Times* (Mora), March 12, 1887.

<sup>33</sup> *Tribune*, December 13, 1873.

Sheep" were favorite games.<sup>34</sup> Especially popular was "Buy My Sheep," whereby a greenhorn was initiated into the fraternity of lumberjacks. Some of the men amused themselves by singing songs of their own composition. These usually had an epic theme, recounting the heroism of some lumberjack, usually in their own camp. Perhaps one of the oldest that has survived is the "Pokegama Bear," composed in camp in 1874 by Frank Hasty.<sup>35</sup>

Come all you good fellows who like to hear fun,  
Come listen to me while I sing you a song;  
Come listen to me while the truth I declare,  
I am going to sing the Pokegama Bear.

One cold frosty morning, the winds they did blow,  
We went to the woods our days work to do,  
Yes, into the woods we did quickly repair,  
It was there that we met the Pokegama Bear!

One, Morris O'Hern, — a bold Irish lad,  
Went to build a fire all in a pine stub;  
He rapped with his ax when he went there,  
When out popped the monstrous Pokegama Bear!

With a roar like a Lion, O'Hern did swear,  
Saying, "Run boys for God's sake, for I've found a bear!"  
As out through the brush Jim Quinn did climb,  
Saying, "To hell with your bear, kill your own porcupine!"

Into the swamp old bruin did go,  
O'Hern and Hasty did quickly pursue,  
As on through the brush those heroes did tear,  
To capture or kill the Pokegama Bear.

Old Bruin got angry — for Hasty did steer!  
He prepared to receive without dread or fear,  
With his teeth firmly set and his ax in the air,  
He slipped and fell on the Pokegama Bear.

<sup>34</sup>In an interview on June 6, 1932, Mr. J. C. Daly of Port Wing, Wisconsin, told the writer how these games were played. Even in his amusements the lumberjack did not spare his body.

<sup>35</sup>Mr. McAlpine gave the writer a copy of this poem on August 15, 1932.

Out on the road old bruin did go,  
He thought that was better than wading in snow,  
Yet little he knew what awaited him there,  
For fate was against the Pokegama Bear.

There was one, Mike McAlpine, of fame and renown,  
Noted for foot racing on Canadian ground,  
He ran up the road, raised his ax in the air,  
And dealt the death blow to the Pokegama Bear.

When out to the camp old bruin was sent,  
To skin him and dress him it was our intent.  
And we all agreed that each should have a share,  
Of the oil that was in the Pokegama Bear.

To the cook it was taken, the tallow fried out,  
Each man with his bottle did gather about,  
When Hasty and McAlpine they both lost their share,  
Of the oil that was in the Pokegama Bear.

Then it was taken by cook and it fried,  
It was all very good it can't be denied,  
It tasted like roast turkey, Bill Moneghan did swear,  
As he feasted upon the Pokegama Bear.

Now my song is ended, I am going to drop my pen,  
And Morris O'Hern, he got the bear skin;  
Here is long life to you boys, and long growth to your hair,  
Since it is greased with the oil of the Pokegama Bear.

Stories relating vague rumors of dreadful beasts which the lumberjacks had met on the tote road formed no small part of the evening's entertainment. There was the "agropelter." That animal, infuriated by the invasion of his secret precinct, the great forest, was a terrible threat to the logger. From Maine to Oregon the lumberjack feared his uncanny stroke. This horrible animal found shelter in hollow trees, and anyone who was unfortunate enough to pass his abode was usually reported as killed by a falling limb. Only one human being is ever known to have escaped death when given a blow by this treacherous beast. He

was a Minnesota lumberjack. Big Ole Kittleeson, cruising on the St. Croix, was the hero. The "agropelter" dealt the blow, but the "limb was so punky" that it flew into bits on Big Ole's head. He got a good view of the vicious creature before it bounded into the woods.<sup>36</sup> Many such stories were told and retold by the lumberjacks. The men of that fraternity pass the palm for story-telling to the French-Canadian, who excels in superstition and imagination.

Nine o'clock was the usual bedtime for men in the camps; but on Saturday night, when games of chess or cards were played, the hour was usually later.<sup>37</sup> Cards were not allowed in some camps, and in some, gambling was forbidden except when tobacco was used as a stake. Sunday was "boil-up" day. This one day in the week was used by the lumberjacks to shave, to cut hair, and to clean clothes. A big lard can was placed over an open fire outdoors, and there each lumberjack in turn scrubbed and boiled his clothes. Then the men patched their clothes and sewed on buttons. Sunday night saw them early to bed, in preparation for another week of hard work.

In no sphere is the lumberjack so distinctly individual as in his mode of expression. His environment is the source from which his peculiar vocabulary comes, and his phrases are quite unintelligible to anyone not of his fraternity. Not long ago a woodsman over eighty years of age, who was found planting potatoes by the writer, made her realize how unfamiliar was the woodsmen's tongue. She knew she could not spell the words, and she had no notion of the meaning of some of the queer terms that the lumberjack's Irish tongue sputtered so easily. When the writer asked him what certain terms meant, he laughed and said, "Well you're having the same trouble as did a Sister who used

<sup>36</sup> William T. Cox, *Fearsome Creatures of the Lumberwoods*, 35 (Washington, 1910).

<sup>37</sup> *Anoka Union*, January 5, 1878.

to take care of our boys in the hospital at Duluth." Such was his story: A certain top-loader had had his leg crushed by a log. The nun had inquired just how so serious an accident could have happened. The lumberjack replied: "Well, Sister, it happened this way. I dropped in at one of the Sawyer Goodman Company's camps and as I was the first 'gazebo' who came down the 'pike' and the 'push' needed men, he put me to work 'skyhooking.' The first thing the 'groundhog' did was to send up a 'blue.' I hol-lered at him to throw a 'Saginaw' into her but he 'St. Croixed' her instead. Then he 'gunned' her and the result was I got my stem cracked."<sup>38</sup> Every term has its meaning. The woodsman's special vocabulary numbers about three hundred words and is both picturesque and significant.<sup>39</sup>

The business of logging grew. By 1900 no state in the Union could compete with Minnesota in this domain. In the quantity and value of timber produced the state surpassed all others. A larger amount of capital was invested in logging in Minnesota than in any other state. Indeed, the capital invested per establishment was nearly double that of Wisconsin or California, Minnesota's nearest competitors. Minnesota likewise employed twice as many men in its camps as were employed in camps in any other state.<sup>40</sup>

In recent years the Maineite, the Canadian, the German, and the Scandinavian have been replaced by the Russian, the Finn, and other Europeans. The simple go-devil in time gave way to the giant steam over-head skidder, which grabs in its claws the logs that once were lifted by the masterful arms of the lumberjack. As in other industries,

<sup>38</sup> Mr. Daly told the writer this story in an interview on June 6, 1932. A similar tale is related by John E. Nelligan, in "The Life of a Lumberman," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 13: 57 (September, 1929). This writer uses the word "gummed" instead of "gunned."

<sup>39</sup> J. W. Clark, "Lumberjack Lingo," in *American Speech*, 7: 47 (October, 1931).

<sup>40</sup> *United States Census, 1900, Manufactures*, 9: 818.

machine power has replaced man power in the logging business. In 1900 the Rum and St. Croix rivers could no longer boast the largest logging camps in the state. They had shifted far into the northland, to Beltrami, Itasca, and St. Louis counties, where fifteen to twenty thousand men logged during the cold winter months.<sup>41</sup>

The lumber industry reached its height in the early years of the present century. In 1837 Franklin Steele and six half-breeds cut white pine in Minnesota. In 1912 about forty thousand lumberjacks logged in its forests.<sup>42</sup> Many of them cut logs for the largest white pine mill in the world—that at Virginia. Today the mill is gone. So is the lumberjack. This young giant, strong and wild in body and spirit, rough in dress and manner, belongs to the past. His stories, his songs, his language, his mode of dress, and his manner of living should be carefully recorded, for they are of interest to the historian. As a part of the group that helped to lay the basis of the state, he deserves to be studied. He is the hero of the drama of the pine forest, a drama that has now ended in Minnesota.

AGNES M. LARSON

ST. OLAF COLLEGE  
NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA

<sup>41</sup> *Duluth Weekly Herald*, May 2, 1900.

<sup>42</sup> William T. Cox, *Timber Resources of Minnesota*, 87 (St. Paul, 1913).

## THE WINONA LEGEND

On September 17, 1805, Zebulon Montgomery Pike wrote the following in the diary of his exploration of the upper Mississippi River:

I was shown a point of rocks from which a Sioux maiden cast herself, and was dashed into a thousand pieces on the rocks below. She had been informed that her friends intended matching her to a man she despised; having been refused the man she had chosen, she ascended the hill, singing her death-song; and before they could overtake her and obviate her purpose she took the lover's leap! Thus ended her troubles with her life. A wonderful display of sentiment in a savage!<sup>1</sup>

From this modest beginning there sprang one of the best-known legends of Minnesota, one which was recorded in more or less detail by almost every traveler and elaborated upon by many later writers. There are many "Lover's Leaps," but perhaps few have as authentic a legend as has Maiden Rock on Lake Pepin.<sup>2</sup> It may be interesting to see just how authentic the Winona legend is.

Although Pike appears to have been the first to mention the episode, Stephen H. Long, who made a voyage to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1817, first gave the story of Winona in detail. Long also was the first to relate the story of Black Day Woman and the Falls of St. Anthony.<sup>3</sup> Long's

<sup>1</sup> Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River*, 1: 66 (Coues edition, New York, 1895).

<sup>2</sup> A name for this rock which appears to have been little used is "Cap des Sioux." David Dale Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota*, 44 (Philadelphia, 1852).

<sup>3</sup> Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a Six-oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 24-26, 37-40. The two legends are briefly retold from Long by Doane Robinson, in his "Tales of the Dakota," in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 14: 526 (1928). The legend of the Falls of St. Anthony appears also in William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, 1: 310-313 (London, 1825); William J. Snelling, *Tales of the Northwest*, 197-212 (Boston, 1830); a poem dated 1849, in Samuel W.

guide, the Sioux Wazikute, or Shooter from the Pine Tree, gave the explorer the story of the falls, saying that his mother had witnessed the event. The Indian himself is the source of the Winona legend, and it seems probable that he had also told the story to Pike. Dr. Doane Robinson aptly remarks that "More reliance might be placed upon Wazza-coota's entertaining romances, had they not been in some degree discounted by Major Long's relation of the effect produced upon him by imbibing the 'commissary.'" It should, however, be borne in mind, that Pike had heard the story some years earlier, if in an abbreviated form, and Long's commissary should not be held wholly responsible. Dr. Robinson also points out that the Indian guide did not tell his stories as tribal traditions, but as "actual events occurring within his own experience, or of that of his mother."<sup>4</sup> When Long was on his second expedition in 1823 he again saw Wazikute at Red Wing's village, and again the Indian related his stories. William H. Keating, a member of this expedition, states that Wazikute was a witness of Winona's death when he was very young, but that he was very old in 1823 — so old, indeed, that he seems to have remembered neither Long nor his commissary.<sup>5</sup>

Pond, *Legends of the Dakotas*, 15-21 (Minneapolis, 1911); Charles Lanman, *A Summer in the Wilderness*, 62 (New York, 1847); Fredrika Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, 2: 29-31 (London, 1853); Mary H. Eastman, *The Romance of Indian Life*, 274 n. (Philadelphia, 1853); Eastman, *Chicora*, 32-34 (Philadelphia, 1854); and Henry Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippthal*, 34-38 (Dusseldorf, 1858). In Lewis' work, "Ampata Saba" is correctly translated "der dunkle Tag"; but curiously enough, on page 90, after correctly translating "Wenona" as "die Erstgeborene," he gives, as a variation of the Indian maiden's name, "Oa-la-i-ta," which he translates also as "der dunkle Tag." Lewis presents the legend of "Der Mädchensprung" and a poem entitled "Der Wenona'sfelschen," on pages 90 to 99 of his work. Mrs. Eastman includes the story of Winona in her *Dahcotah, or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling*, 165-173 (New York, 1849), but she does not relate the legend of the Falls of St. Anthony.

<sup>4</sup> Doane Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, 132 (*South Dakota Historical Collections*, vol. 2, part 2 — 1904).

<sup>5</sup> Keating, *Narrative*, 1: 270, 290-295. Samuel Seymour, the artist with the Long expedition of 1823, made what is probably the first sketch

Winona's story was briefly retold by the explorers Stephen Watts Kearny, Henry R. Schoolcraft, James D. Doty, and Giacomo C. Beltrami.<sup>6</sup> Schoolcraft gives the name of the heroine as "Oola-Ita (*Oo-la-i-ta*)"; Beltrami as "Oholoäitha." The latter writer says that the girl was a Sioux, and that Anikigi, her lover, was "Cypewais." It seems probable that Beltrami's source, and undoubtedly Schoolcraft's, was Chippewa rather than Sioux. There was also, of course, some intermingling of Chippewa and Sioux blood, and it is possible that the Chippewa were concerned in the incident.<sup>7</sup> Beltrami states that he met the Sioux chief, Tantangamani, who, he declares, was the unnatural father of "Oholoäitha," and who in 1823 was seventy years old.<sup>8</sup>

A new version of the Winona legend was contributed by William Joseph Snelling in his *Tales of the Northwest*, published in 1830. These tales are semi- or quasi-historical,

of Maiden Rock; it is reproduced in Keating's *Narrative*, 1:292. On page 295 of the same work, Keating states that Seymour also made a painting showing Winona singing her dirge, but this picture is not known to exist. Other early pictures of Maiden Rock are in Lewis, *Illustrated Mississippithal*, 90; and in Eastman, *Dahcotah*, 90. The latter is a lithograph based upon a sketch by Captain Seth Eastman. His sketches also are followed in chromoliths depicting the legends of Maiden Rock and the Falls of St. Anthony in Mrs. Eastman's *Romance of Indian Life*, 185, 245. These do not, however, accompany the tales that they illustrate.

<sup>6</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States*, 329 (Albany, 1821); James D. Doty, "Official Journal, 1820," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 13: 217 (1895); Giacomo C. Beltrami, *Pilgrimage in Europe and America*, 2: 183-185 (London, 1828); Valentine M. Porter, ed., "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny," in *Missouri Historical Collections*, 3: 112 (1908).

<sup>7</sup> The mother of the first Wabasha is said to have been a Chippewa captive. Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, 2: 911 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, no. 30 — Washington, 1910).

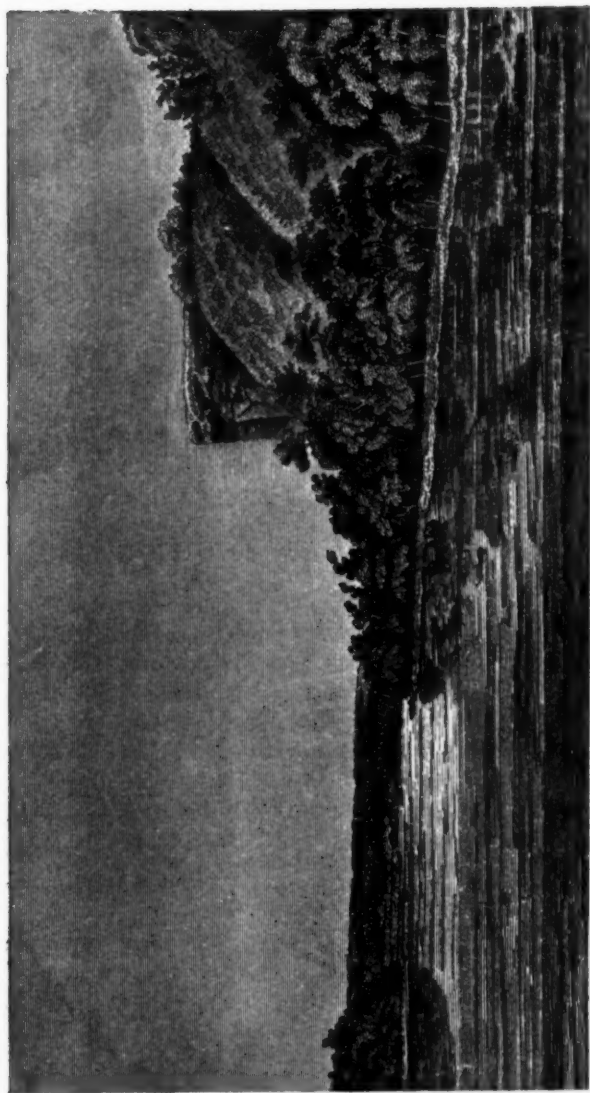
<sup>8</sup> Beltrami, *Pilgrimage*, 2: 186. It does not seem likely that Tatangamani, or Walking Buffalo, who was about sixty years old in 1820, was the father of Winona. He was the son of Red Wing and was a signer of the treaty of Portage des Sioux in 1815. See Keating, *Narrative*, 1: 260; Edward D. Neill, *History of Minnesota*, 327 (Philadelphia, 1858). The latter writer presents his versions of the legends of Maiden Rock and the Falls of St. Anthony on pages 91 to 94 of the work cited.

and are mainly concerned with the relations of French, British, and Indians. In his story of "The Lover's Leap," Winona is still the heroine; her lover is "Chakhopee Doo-tah." A Frenchman is brought upon the scene—one Raymond, who offers valuable presents to Winona's parents. He it is whom she refuses, and there is an elaborate death song. There is little doubt that Snelling either altered the original to suit his literary taste or was told this version by some unknown French trapper who had done the same. It should be noted, however, that others have maintained that a Frenchman was concerned in the incident.<sup>9</sup>

In 1849 when Mrs. Eastman published her *Dahcotah*, she included the story of "The Maiden's Rock; or Wenona's Leap," and this made the legend more generally popular than had any previous publication.<sup>10</sup> Her authority for her tales was a Sioux medicine woman, Mock-pe-en-dag-a-wiñ, or Checkered Cloud, who was seventy years old. Mrs. Eastman had read the legends of Maiden Rock and the Falls of St. Anthony, and had had the happy idea of getting original narratives from Checkered Cloud. The fact that the Indian woman's narrative was an original and

<sup>9</sup> Lafayette H. Bunnell follows Neill's version of the tale, but he suggests that one "ask no Indian or old trader to verify the tale, or you will be told another not quite so romantic." See his *Winona (We-no-nah) and Its Environs*, 108 (Winona, 1897). Thomas M. Newson states that he learned from sources other than Long that Kaddaluska, the disappointed lover, also jumped into the river. See Newson's *Thrilling Scenes among the Indians*, 57 (Chicago, 1884). On page 60 this writer gives also another version of the tale as it was presented to him in a letter from John Bush, a man of eighty-three. Bush, who seems to return to Snelling's version of the tale, writes as follows: "Now, as for Maiden Rock being a legend, it is a mistake. It was a real thing and no legend. The man who wanted to marry the girl was a young Frenchman. He was killed by lightning. I saw him ten minutes after he was killed. He was a young man then. The men who knew about it are all dead but myself." Since Pike made a note of the incident as early as 1805 and Long told the tale in full in 1817, Bush, who did not arrive at Fort Snelling until 1825, could hardly have remembered the event. For a sketch of Bush, see *History of the Minnesota Valley*, 654 (Minneapolis, 1882).

<sup>10</sup> The story was reprinted in the *People's Journal*, 7: 343 (London, 1849).



MAIDEN ROCK, LAKE PEPIN

[From an engraving based on a sketch by Samuel Seymour, in Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 1: 292 (London, 1825).]

nonliterary one, and at the same time so similar to that of Wazikute, supports the authenticity of the story. That Mrs. Eastman was herself somewhat concerned over its authenticity is clear from the fact that she criticized certain versions—she probably had Snelling's in mind—for representing the maiden as "delivering an oration from the top of the rock, long enough for an address at a college celebration." She also points out that, contrary to what had been said by some, Winona could not have fallen into the water, but must have fallen upon the less romantic rocks. Some had even said that Winona was a Winnebago maiden, which was obviously incorrect. She also notes, as does Keating, that the commonest method of suicide among the Sioux was strangulation, and that it is rather odd that Winona did not employ such means. She says that the Sioux firmly believed that the incident had occurred. "They are offended if you suggest the possibility of its being a fiction. Indeed, they fix a date to it, reckoning by the occurrences of great battles, or other events worthy of notice."<sup>11</sup> This date she gives as about a hundred and fifty years before her tale was written, which would be about the year 1700. As to the form of the narrative, she follows the spirit rather than the words of her narrator, but it is reasonably certain that the story is much as Checkered Cloud told it. It seems, hence, that of the extant versions of the tale, those of Long, Keating, and Mrs. Eastman are preferable to others. There are, in Mrs. Eastman's version, certain elements of realism which come from her familiarity with the Sioux, and her narrative is perhaps the best.

It is quite improbable that the events centering about Maiden Rock took place as early as 1700. Long quotes Wazikute as saying that "since his remembrance" a large

<sup>11</sup> Eastman, *Dahcotah*, 165, 166. Lanman, in his *Summer in the Wilderness*, 48-50, relates the story, probably following Keating. He states that the events described in the tale took place "about one hundred years ago."

party of Sioux of the band of La Feuille, or the younger Wabasha, went from the St. Peter's or Minnesota River to visit Prairie du Chien, and when on the way the incident occurred; Winona was presumably a member of the band. Wazikute was himself a subordinate chief of the band of the younger Wabasha, and probably of that of the elder Wabasha as well. This clue as to the period in which the Winona incident occurred, Mrs. Eastman does not mention. One could hardly expect Checkered Cloud to have known this bit of the narrative, since it would be of personal interest only to Wazikute.

Newton H. Winchell, in his volume on the *Aborigines of Minnesota*, states that Wabasha's famous band of Mdewakanton Sioux migrated from the region of Mille Lacs after the year 1744, first to the lower Rum River, later to the mouth of the Minnesota, then to the upper Iowa River, and finally to the present site of Winona. It is probable that this band was the "Mantanton" mentioned by Le Sueur in 1700, and that they were later known as the band of Pinnewshaw, or Pinchon, which in 1763 was located near the mouth of the Minnesota. There it was still found in 1773. At some date between the peace of 1783 and Pike's visit of 1805, and not long before the death of the elder Wabasha, the band removed to the upper Iowa River; and thence it went to Wabasha's Prairie, near Winona, where the younger Wabasha came to the chieftainship.<sup>12</sup>

Mrs. Eastman says that the village of the band of her story lived on the site occupied in 1849 by Good Road's band, and Neill locates Good Road's village about eight miles above Fort Snelling, on the south side of the Minnesota. The oldest band of the Mdewakanton was that of Black Dog. There was a tradition that all the Mdewa-

<sup>12</sup> Winchell, *Aborigines of Minnesota*, 539-544 (St. Paul, 1911). The county and the city of Winona were named for a cousin of the younger Wabasha, according to Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 581, 584 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17).

kanton formerly lived on the banks of the Minnesota near Pinchon's village, and within sight of the residence of Peter Quinn of Oak Grove. Stephen R. Riggs presents an interesting bit of folklore to the effect that the Mdewakanton thought the mouth of the Minnesota River was precisely over the center of the earth, and that they occupied the gate opening into the western world.<sup>13</sup> Theodore H. Lewis, in the course of his mound surveys, described the site of Black Dog's village. He located it on the east half and southwest quarter of section 19, township 27, range 23, Dakota County, where he found 104 mounds visible, with indications of 14 others.<sup>14</sup>

Keating relates that Winona lived in the "village of the Keoxa, in the tribe of Wapasha, during the time that his father lived and ruled over them."<sup>15</sup> Inasmuch as the band is said to have resided at the mouth of the Minnesota, which was at one time the site of Wabasha's village, this seems more than likely. Since Wazikute is said to have been a witness of Winona's death, and Wabasha is said to have died in 1806, one may suppose that the events connected with the legend took place about the year 1800.<sup>16</sup> The fact that there apparently is no mention of the incident by travelers before Pike's time has some little bearing here; it is quite unlikely that had they heard the story they would have omitted all mention of such a striking tale from

<sup>13</sup> Edward D. Neill, "Dakota Land and Dakota Life," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1: 262, 263 (1872); Stephen R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, 164 (*Contributions to North American Ethnography*, vol. 9—Washington, 1893). Good Road is said to have been a grandson of Pinchon. See "Pike's Explorations in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1: 380 n.

<sup>14</sup> Winchell, *Aborigines*, 177-179.

<sup>15</sup> Keating, *Narrative*, 1: 290.

<sup>16</sup> Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest; The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson*, 1: 273 (New York, 1897). Henry, who was on the Pembina River, does not give the source for his brief note on Wabasha's death. The chief is said to have died "about 1799," in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 2: 911.

their journals. George Catlin, in a note accompanying a sketch of the rock made during his visit of the thirties, speaks of the events as having taken place "some fifty years ago." The supposition that the incident took place about the year 1800 is probably as close to the truth as it is now possible to get.<sup>17</sup>

With all the corroboration of the above, doubt may still linger in the mind of the modern reader concerning the authenticity of the episode, and there is no definite answer that can be made to such an objection. It may, of course, be that the legend of Winona was no more than the product of Wazikute's imagination, if hardly of Long's commissary.<sup>18</sup> It is certain, at least, from the above, that the events, if they did take place, have no great antiquity. There seems, however, to have been no doubt in the minds of such careful students of the Sioux as Riggs, Neill, and Robinson of the general authenticity of the episode. Riggs has given as much help as can now be had on the matter in the following statement concerning Sioux marriage customs:

Sometimes it happens that a young man wants a girl, and her friends are also quite willing, while she alone is unwilling. The purchase bundle is desired by her friends, and hence compulsion is resorted to. The girl yields and goes to be his slave, or she holds out stoutly, sometimes taking her own life as the alternative. Several cases of this kind have come to the personal knowledge of the writer. The

<sup>17</sup> George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2: 143 (London, 1841).

<sup>18</sup> George W. Featherstonhaugh thought it probable that the story was merely an invention suggested by the "perpendicularity of the precipice." See his *Canoe Voyage up the Minnaw Sotor*, 1: 250 (London, 1847). Philander Prescott, who aided Mrs. Eastman in getting her stories, speaks of the Winona and Black Day Woman episodes as actual events in his "Reminiscences," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6: 481. The Reverend Alfred Brunson expresses "grave reasons to doubt the truth of the story," in *A Western Pioneer*, 2: 74 (Cincinnati, 1879). Coues saw no use in raising the question of the fact or fancy of the event, though he thought it not improbable that the incident occurred. Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 66 n.

legends of Winona and Black Day Woman are standing testimonies. The comely dark-eyed Winona wanted to wed the successful hunter, but the brilliant warrior was forced upon her, and therefore she leaped from the crag on Lake Pepin, which immortalizes her name. For a like reason, Black-Day Woman pushed her canoe out into the current, above the Falls of Saint Anthony, and sang her death song as it passed over. These are doubtless historical events, except that the years are not known.<sup>19</sup>

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

<sup>19</sup> Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, 206. This writer appears to have relied upon Keating's narrative. Frank B. Mayer, an artist who visited Minnesota in 1851, states his belief that "Wenuna" had been dragged from a "virgin's feast" by a rejected lover; the "false accusation stung her to despair" and caused her to throw herself from the rock. Bertha L. Heilbron, ed., *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, 173 (Minnesota Historical Society, *Narratives and Documents*, vol. 1 — St. Paul, 1932).

## HIGHWAYS AND HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

Among the many enterprises for the promotion of interest in and knowledge of Minnesota history undertaken by the Minnesota Historical Society in recent years, perhaps none eventually will reach more people than the highway marking project that is being carried on jointly by the society and the Minnesota highway department. During the past year, according to the estimates of the highway department, an average of 375,000 vehicles of all kinds used the trunk highways of the state daily. Of these a considerable percentage were machines from outside the state. The value of the Minnesota tourist traffic annually runs high into the millions of dollars. A marking project that will reach even a small part of these people and remind them of Minnesota's past is very much worth while. Incidentally, the markers are a commercial asset to the state in attracting the tourist trade.

People love history. Many, perhaps most people, use some other name for this interest, for "history" has a formidable sound. In the past the historian too frequently has been pictured as a remote individual, whose time was spent in unearthing information of no direct interest to the average man and publishing this material in weighty tomes, replete with learned footnotes which few ever took the trouble to read. The average person is likely to express his historical interest in telling stories of his boyhood and the "old swimming hole," in perusing the home-town newspaper, in comparing past economic and political conditions with those of the present, or perhaps in working out his family genealogy.

<sup>1</sup>A paper presented at a stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, held in the Historical Building, St. Paul, October 10, 1932. *Ed.*

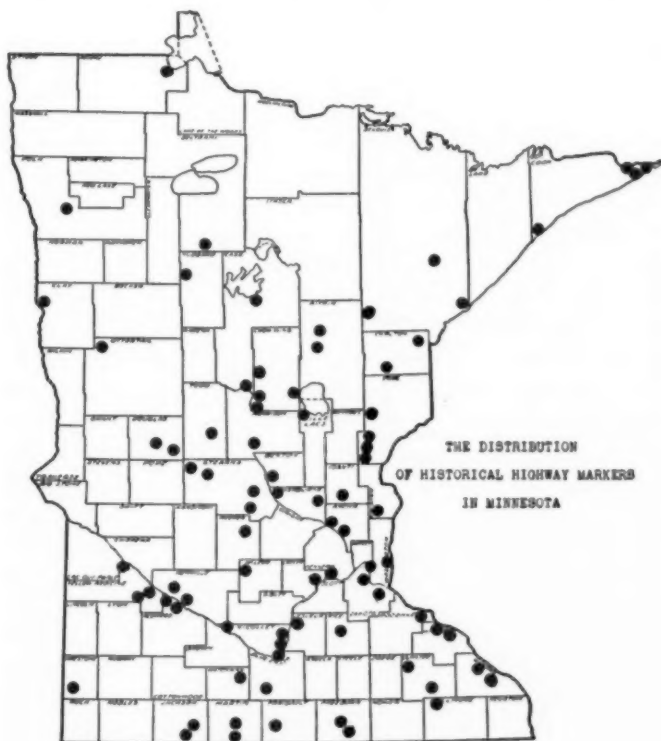
The popularizing of scientific history must have an important place among the historical activities of institutions that are dependent upon public support. The present highway marking project is an attempt to popularize history in a time when travel has become very common. It aims to give the traveler on the highways a concise and accurate statement of the historic significance of the locality through which he is passing. A given site may have national, regional, or local significance. In the present stages of the marking enterprise an effort is being made to select for attention points that have more than a narrowly local interest.

In any marking project there is always danger that sites and facts of minor importance will be stressed too strongly. The society, for example, has been urged to mark the spot where the members of the James-Younger gang had their last meal together prior to the Northfield bank robbery of 1876. This sort of thing is episodic and of slight importance. The raid on Northfield, with the resultant smashing of the band of frontier desperadoes, is, however, an event of real regional importance, and it naturally will take precedence over the incident mentioned above.

What sites and events are being commemorated by these Minnesota historical highway markers? A study of the map published herewith reveals a wide geographic distribution. From Grand Portage at the extreme northeastern corner of Minnesota to Pipestone near the southwestern angle, from Warroad on the Lake of the Woods to Minnesota City near the southeastern boundary, the network of markers extends. No one county or area has been consciously favored at the expense of the others. The eighty-two markers are scattered over forty-nine counties, and at present no county can boast more than four.

There are markers for Indian villages, battles, treaties, agencies, missions, fur-trading posts, canoe routes and portages, military posts and stockades, government land offices,

stagecoach stations, "vanished towns," group settlements, a gold "discovery," the beginnings of iron mining and granite quarrying, early milling, forest fires, homes of famous



individuals, notable events, such as Schoolcraft's discovery of Lake Itasca, and many other types of historical occurrences. A few of the markers are regional in character, as for example the one at Anoka which bears the caption "Mouth of Rum River."

In the wording of every inscription an effort has been made to give the greatest possible amount of information

within the arbitrary limit of approximately fifty-five words. In a regional marker for the Lake Pepin area, now in preparation, a double-length inscription will be spread over two plates erected side by side. Because of the expense, however, it is probable that this device will be used only occasionally at important sites.

This historical marking project had its inception in March, 1929, as the outgrowth of an illustrated talk entitled "State Parks and Minnesota History," which the writer gave before the employees of the state highway department. Reference was made to the fact that there was no way of indicating to travelers on the highways the proximity of historic sites and that they consequently failed to reap the fullest benefits from their travels in Minnesota. At the close of this talk Mr. Walter F. Rosenwald, maintenance engineer of the highway department, pointed out the fact that markers calling attention to historic sites could certainly be considered as "informational," and hence might well be included in the trunk highway marking system. He therefore proposed a joint plan by which the Minnesota Historical Society should designate the sites and prepare the inscriptions, and the highway department should manufacture and erect the markers. Funds allotted for trunk highway marking could be used to finance the project. The proposal was promptly approved by Mr. Charles M. Babcock for the highway department, and by Dr. Solon J. Buck for the historical society.

In a series of conferences details were worked out, and the first five inscriptions, calling attention to such nationally known sites as the red Pipestone quarry and Fort Ridgely, were sent to the highway department in July, 1929. Considerable experimenting with types and sizes of letters, styles of markers, and materials followed, and not until January, 1930, was the first full-sized marker manufactured. At the society's annual meeting in that month the



# BATTLE OF SHAKOPEE

ON MAY 27, 1858,

BETWEEN THIS POINT AND THE

RIVER A SHARP FIGHT TOOK

PLACE BETWEEN ABOUT 150

MILLE LAKE CHIPPEWA AND

SHAKOPEE'S BAND OF SIOUX.

THE BATTLE LASTED SEVERAL

HOURS AND THE CHIPPEWA

WERE DEFEATED WITH A LOSS

OF 4 KILLED AND SCALPED.

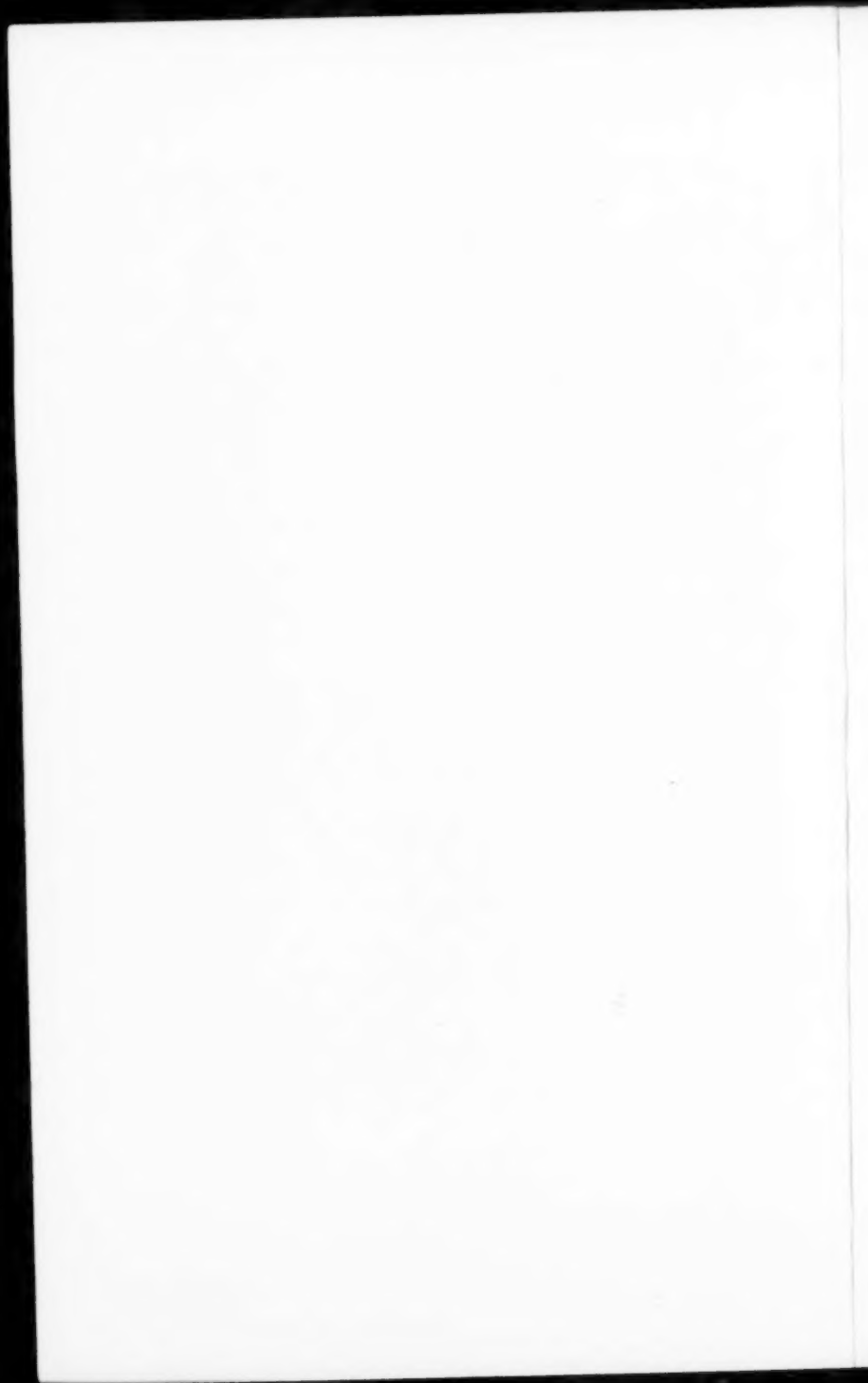
THIS WAS THE LAST

IMPORTANT BATTLE BETWEEN

THESE TRIBES IN MINNESOTA.



A MINNESOTA HISTORICAL MARKER ON HIGHWAY NO. 5 NEAR SHAKOPEE



first historical marker was displayed. It was made of wood, but it was subsequently determined to use more durable materials and the present steel plate signs were designed.

The markers now being erected are substantial steel plates, three by five feet in dimensions, into which the words of the inscriptions are deeply cut. Each inscription consists of a caption in four-inch letters, and a fifty-word descriptive statement in two-inch letters. The letters are enameled in black on a white background, since black and white are the "informational" colors used by the highway department as distinguished from the "warning" colors of black and yellow. Each marker bears the seal of the historical society and the emblem of the highway department as vouchers for its authenticity. The signs are manufactured under contract by a Minneapolis company at a cost of about twenty dollars each.

The markers are placed on the edges of the right-of-way, parallel with the highway. This position has been criticized on the ground of poor visibility, and the objection is justified by the facts. It was considered when the plans for the marking project were worked out. The alternative scheme of placing the signs perpendicular to the roadway, however, would have necessitated a double plate in order that the marker might be read from two directions, and this involved an almost prohibitive cost per sign. It is obvious that a marker readable from only one direction would not be practical. To meet this objection, as well as to cope with the relatively high speed of normal highway traffic, it was decided to supplement the original marker with two warning markers placed perpendicular to the roadway and facing traffic from each direction. These signs, which read "Historic Site Ahead," are being erected from three to five hundred feet in advance of the main marker. The belief is that those who are interested will slow down sufficiently to enable them to read the principal inscription

as they pass the marker. That people are taking advantage of this opportunity to learn history as they ride is shown by the numerous comments overheard by those in charge of the society's exhibit showing the highway markers and their distribution at the Minnesota state fair of 1932. Such remarks as "We saw that one" or "We always stop to read these signs" were frequent. These comments seem to reflect the general attitude.

The warning sign idea was not put into practice until last spring and some of the historical markers have not yet been given this advance publicity. When all these preliminary signs are in place the markers will receive more attention from the traveling public. The steady increase in the number of markers, too, will gradually train motorists to watch for and read these signs as naturally as they read the "caution" signs. To make it still easier for the traveler to read the historic markers, the highway department is planning to widen the shoulders at points where they have been erected sufficiently to permit a car to draw out of the line of moving traffic and stop. This has been done at the Oliver H. Kelley marker on Highway No. 3 south of Elk River, and a double line of white stones used to form an approach to the sign makes the spot exceedingly attractive.

This Minnesota marking project is in its infancy. In Virginia, the state that was the pioneer in historical marking on trunk highways, more than nine hundred signs have been erected since 1927 under the direction of the state commission on conservation and development, and a booklet of the inscriptions, published annually, contains more than a hundred pages. Minnesota as yet has less than a hundred markers, but it is hoped that the century mark can be crossed this year. If this goal is reached, it would be appropriate to issue a special folder or handbook containing the inscriptions and a map showing the locations. The Virginia system involves a complicated letter and number

code by which each road is designated, and proceeds to mark completely each main route as a unit. Minnesota has employed no such device; its plan aims to carry the work forward all over the state simultaneously without over-emphasizing any one section, as is shown on the map. Virginia has used the two-faced marker standing perpendicular to the road; but according to the statements of persons who have seen both styles of markers, the Minnesota type, with its warning signs, despite the parallel placing, is the more readable of the two. Mr. Verne E. Chatelain, historian for the national park service, has specially praised Minnesota for its historical marking plan, which he characterized as the best he had seen anywhere.

At present this Minnesota marking project is limited to the trunk highways, in contrast to the Virginia system, which includes minor roads as well. Thus it has not been possible to recognize many of the Minnesota sites which are well worth markers. Lines of communication have changed radically in the eighty-odd years of Minnesota's corporate existence. In pioneer days the water courses were the great thoroughfares, and consequently much of the activity that today should be commemorated by markers occurred on lakes and along navigable streams. Now overland transportation is the rule, and the trunk highways strike directly across country without much regard for river systems, except as obstructions to be bridged. Many of the markers, consequently, can only remind people that great events transpired somewhere within a radius of four or five miles.

It should be stated in drawing this discussion of the highway marking project to a close, that the highway markers are not intended to take the place of the markers that are being placed from time to time by various patriotic organizations. Rather is it believed that they will supplement the usual bronze tablets by drawing the attention of a larger public to the existence of historic spots, and arouse greater

interest in their preservation. In a number of instances the highway marker specifically states that a site is marked, or comprises or is within a state park.

The society welcomes coöperation and assistance from groups and individuals and hopes that suggestions regarding suitable sites will come flooding in. A cordial invitation is extended to county historical societies to submit lists of sites. These should be accompanied by detailed information giving the legal description of the property on which a site is located, its distance from the highway, and facts that can be utilized in drafting inscriptions. The work will be carried on over a period of years until Minnesota's past is adequately set forth for the benefit of the traveler.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

## THE COMING OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS TO OTTER TAIL COUNTY<sup>1</sup>

The first permanent settlement in Otter Tail County was made by the Cutlerites, a branch of the Latter Day Saints, on the north shore of Lake Clitherall on May 6, 1865.<sup>2</sup> This was not the first actual settlement, but the first permanent settlement in the county. Before the Sioux War of 1862 a few settlers had built homes near the present site of Fergus Falls; Otter Tail City was a frontier village of probably forty or fifty houses, and a United States land office was located there. During the outbreak some of these settlers were killed by the Indians and the rest abandoned their homes; the land office at Otter Tail City was destroyed, and the town evacuated. Thus when the Cutlerites arrived the county was virtually a wilderness, and they became the first permanent settlers.

In order to understand who the Cutlerites were it may be necessary to go back into their history a few years. It will be remembered that after the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, members of the church that he had organized were scattered and had no leader recognized as such by the whole group. This condition favored the rise of self-appointed leaders who led off various factions of the church with accompanying changes in church government. Thus Brigham

<sup>1</sup>A paper read on July 14, 1932, at the Fergus Falls session of the eleventh state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup>Lake Clitherall was named for Major George B. Clitherall, whose name was found carved on a tree on the shore of the lake. He was United States land agent at Otter Tail City from 1858 to 1861, a native of Alabama, and a strong slavery advocate. After the Dred Scot decision in 1857 he conceived the idea of making Minnesota a stronghold of slavery, but he was prevented from carrying out his plans by the outbreak of the Civil War. At the beginning of the war Major Clitherall joined the Confederacy.

Young led a large faction to Utah in 1847. Overtaken by winter, he went into camp near the present site of Omaha, Nebraska, at a place called "Winter Quarters." There several groups of his followers became dissatisfied and were disfellowshipped, or cut off from the church; among them were the members of the group that afterward settled at Clitherall. They did not take their expulsion from the church very seriously, however; as they reasoned that Brigham Young, after his introduction of teachings, doctrines, and practices contrary to those of the original church, had no authority to act for the original organization. They recrossed the Missouri River and settled in Mills County, Iowa, in the southwestern part of the state, at a place they called Manti. They chose for their leader a man named Alpheus Cutler, or, as he was known to his followers, Father Cutler.

During the fifties and early sixties Missouri and its border lands were a hotbed of secession and civil strife, and the Cutlerites, who had strong antislavery sentiments, suffered many depredations at the hands of their neighbors. Partly for this reason and partly because of religious persecution they felt that they would enjoy greater liberty and freedom if they removed to Minnesota. They also felt that it was their mission to preach the gospel to the Indians. Plans were accordingly made for the migration of the colony, which numbered between thirty-five and forty families. Before it occurred, however, Father Cutler died and Chauncey Whiting, Sr., was chosen to fill his place—a position that he held until his death, which occurred many years later at Clitherall.

All arrangements having been made, seven families, the vanguard of the migration, set out in September, 1864, to spy out the new home. Constituting this company were F. L. Whiting and his wife, generally known as Uncle Lute and Aunt Net, and their five children; S. J. Whiting and his wife, or Uncle Vet and Aunt Becky, and their children; Ed-

mund Whiting, a nephew of Uncles Lute and Vet, his wife and three children; Calvin Fletcher with his wife and five children; Uncle Jesse and Aunt Nancy Burdick and their little son Kary; John and Mary Fletcher; Isaac Whiting, his bride, and his sister Carmelia; Marcus Shaw and his wife; Lewis Denna, Erastus Cutler, James Badham, and DeWitt Sperry, who was called Father Sperry. The wives of the last four remained in Iowa and came to Minnesota with the second immigration.

The members of this small company of seven families, some with ox teams and some with horse teams, starting north on a journey of seven hundred or eight hundred miles in the face of winter, had need of all their faith, courage, and fortitude. As they proceeded they met with varying treatment. Sometimes they were refused the privilege of drawing water from the wayside wells; sometimes they were driven from their camping places. At other times they met with great kindness and friendliness. Meanwhile the days were becoming shorter and cooler and the nights longer and colder. When the travelers were a little more than half way to their journey's end, they were overtaken by winter. They stopped at Red Wing, where they spent the remainder of the year 1864 and the first part of the following year, the families living in rented houses and the men working at whatever they could find to do and laying up supplies for the remainder of their journey.

On the sixth day of April they resumed the march, their teams pulling and straining at the heavy loads and the covered wagons lurching and swaying over the rough roads of the spring break-up. A few days after they left Red Wing, they camped one night in a rather unprotected spot and a blizzard swooped down upon them. Hastily moving to a more sheltered location, they prepared as best they could for the storm. For three days and nights the storm raged and the cold was so intense that an Indian caught out in the blizzard was frozen to death. Yet these hardy

men and women and children — some of the latter were not yet a year old — withstood the storm with no other shelter than that afforded by the covered wagons. When the storm cleared, the roads were blocked in every direction and the members of the little company were prisoners. But during the night a warm rain fell, as they believed in answer to prayer; and in the morning the snow had disappeared to such an extent that they were able to resume their journey. The end of a day's march, however, brought them again to the snow-covered country. A deserted lumber camp at this place furnished them comfortable quarters for the night, and the next day they were able to follow the trail left by the departing lumbermen.

One day the trail led through a burning forest. There were flames on both sides of the narrow road and the smoke was so dense at times that the travelers were unable to see the third team ahead of them. It was as dangerous to go back as to go forward, so they kept going until they came to a stream. Across the stream was safety, as the fire had not extended so far. But the bridge was in flames. The men put out the fire, however, and after a little repairing of the bridge they were able to cross to the other side and breathe clear air once more.

When the party reached Crow Wing, it was thought advisable to leave Mrs. S. J. Whiting there until the second party of Cutlerites should arrive. Accordingly, the caravan left that place without Aunt Becky, her two children, Dean and Allie, and Mrs. Shaw, who remained with them. It was there on April 14, the day on which President Lincoln was shot, that William W. Whiting was born. There was no one to care for him and his mother except Mrs. Shaw and some Indian women.

On May 6, 1865, the little band of home-seekers arrived at their destination on the north shore of Clitherall Lake and laid the foundations for the first permanent settlement in Otter Tail County. Their first work, even before build-

ing shelters, was to put in their crops. They had brought a breaking plow and a few other farm implements and they soon had sixty acres of rich prairie soil broken up and sowed to grain, corn, and garden stuff. Their next work was the building of homes, not only for themselves, but for those who were to follow. These homes were rude log cabins, each with a "stick chimney" at one end, a door, and one or two small windows. The floors were either of dirt or puncheons hewed out by hand. The shingles were split by hand and were called "shakes." On July 31 the members of the second colony, who had left Iowa the last of May, arrived and found not only a warm welcome, but homes ready to enter and occupy. With them came Aunt Becky and the new baby, of course.

Throughout their journey these people had been warned against the Indians and advised not to risk the lives of themselves and families by settling in a country so recently the scene of terrible massacres and bloodshed. This section had been for generations the disputed hunting ground of the Sioux and Chippewa, whose oral history is full of accounts of fierce wars waged by these two tribes. So it was thought best to meet with the Indians and make a treaty with them. A meeting was accordingly held at Crow Wing. There a treaty was drawn up which was signed by seventeen Indian chiefs and which was never broken. In the annals of treaty-making, this treaty is probably unique, as the same provisions apply to both parties alike. It was agreed that in the event of an Indian doing an injury to a white man, the matter would be reported to the chief, who would deal with the offender according to the Indian code of justice. Likewise, if a white man was guilty of injuring an Indian, the case was to be reported to the white leader, who was then bound to punish the offender in accordance with the white man's ideas of right and justice. This treaty worked admirably; in only one instance was its force felt. Some Indian women

had been helping themselves too freely to the new potatoes and green corn grown by the settlers, and it was feared that there would be none left for winter use unless this petty thievery stopped. So the matter was reported to the chief, and he dealt so severely with the squaws that the offense was never repeated.

Among the members of the first group that went to Clitherall was Lewis Denna, a chief of the Oneida tribe of Indians of New York state. He had cast his lot with these people in the early days of the church; and had gone with them to Ohio, Missouri, Iowa, and finally to Minnesota. There he remained a faithful member of the sect, living and dying like a white man. His first wife was an Indian woman and they had a number of children who lived on a reservation in Wisconsin. After her death he married Pearl Dowd, a white woman. They had no children, and after Mr. Denna's death, Mrs. Denna made her home with Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Whiting. One peculiar thing about Mr. Denna was that he was always called "Mister." The native Indians were known as Old Joe Pokanoga, Young Joe, John, and so on. But Denna was always "Mister" Denna. The only Indian custom he continued to follow was that of wearing his hair long. He lies buried in Old Clitherall cemetery.

The settlement at Old Clitherall had a high degree of social unity and solidarity. The settlers worked not each for himself, but each for all. If provisions were low a few good hunters would go out and bring back game for all. Once Uncles Lute and Vet Whiting went to Leaf Mountain on a hunting trip, and after only six days they came home with fourteen deer. These were divided among those who needed them. For making sugar the settlers had two sugar camps; one consisted of several hundred acres of maples on the north shore of Battle Lake; and the other was across Clitherall Lake. Two or three young men would go to a

camp in the spring and stay until the sugar season was over, when they would return with sometimes three or four barrels of maple sugar, maple syrup, and vinegar. This was divided among all the settlers according to their needs. Some of the settlers built a loom and members of the Sherman family wove cloth for the colony. Four adjoining homesteads extending north and south between Clitherall and Battle lakes were filed on for the common use. All shared in the labor and the benefits of the farms, using the tools, machinery, and produce as they had need.

Economically the settlers enjoyed almost perfect independence. After the first year, when they had to import flour, the only thing they imported was iron. Later they raised wheat and hauled it to Cold Springs near St. Cloud, where it was ground into flour. Their iron they got at St. Paul. Nearly every home had a log "shop" near by, where some kind of manufacturing was carried on. These pioneers made wagons, chairs, tinware, shoes, clothespins, tools, farm machinery, bolts, burrs; they tempered chisels, repaired clocks, and mended furniture. Their blacksmith could make anything, from the tire of a wagon wheel to a darning needle; though he might have a "squabble," as he called it, to put in the eye. They built a sawmill and operated it by horse power. They mixed their own paints and made their own glue from hoofs and horns. Bucks' horns, they found, made the best glue. Sometimes glue was used instead of oil to mix their paints with.

They had a photograph gallery, operated by Warren Whiting, who traveled around the county to accommodate those who wanted their "pictures took" but who could not afford the time to make the long journey to Clitherall. Thus he spent one winter in the town of Maine; at another time he was in St. Olaf; and when the Northern Pacific Railroad was being built through Henning, he had a little studio on Peace Prairie near by.

The first store, which was located in a room of S. J. Whiting's home, offered for sale a small stock of dry goods and shoes. Some trading was done with the Indians; goods were exchanged for pelts, maple sugar, and the like. The first tavern was kept by Hyrum Murdock, who regularly served bear meat and venison. The writer's first recollection of this tavern is of a bear paw nailed to the gate post. Mail was received during the first years of the settlement from St. Cloud, a hundred miles distant; later it came from Alexandria, whence it was carried one winter by dog sled and Indian to the settlement. When Otter Tail City was reinhabited, mail was obtained there; and after the stage began its regular trips, a post office was established at Old Clitherall, with S. J. Whiting as the first postmaster.

At one time there were probably forty or fifty buildings in Old Clitherall, or, Old Town, as it has been called since the railroad was built, and a station was established at New Clitherall. As the settlement grew, it proved impossible for the four original homesteads to provide work and food for the increasing population. Gradually families began to move away, by ones, twos, and threes, until at present there are only a few families left, and only one of the original buildings remains—a home owned and occupied for many years by James Oaks and his family. This building, which is now the property of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, stands on the plot of ground where a marker commemorates the coming of the first settlers.

As time passed many conveniences were acquired, the comforts of life increased, and neat frame houses began to replace the old log cabins. There was more intercourse, both social and economic, with the incoming settlers; and the settlement at Clitherall gradually merged into the life of the county as a whole.

The outstanding characteristics of the pioneers of Old Clitherall, it seems to me, were their faith in God, their

temperance and sobriety, loyalty to their belief coupled with a large tolerance for the beliefs of others, their industry, charity, hospitality and friendliness, their adaptability to changing conditions, and a great diversity of talents and abilities. In the history of Otter Tail County these people have played an important part. Theirs was the first school district organized in the county—district number 1; they organized the first township, Clitherall. They gave to the county its first auditor, S. J. Whiting, its first two county superintendents of schools, William Corliss and E. E. Corliss; and two members of the first board of county commissioners, Marcus Shaw and Chauncey Whiting, Sr.

The first school in Old Clitherall was operated during the winter of 1866-67 and was taught by a daughter of one of the settlers, Zeruah Sherman, who had attended college at Tabor, Iowa. She received sixteen dollars a month, which was paid by subscription, and she had thirty pupils enrolled. One of the latter was an Indian boy, George Johnson, a son of a Chippewa missionary, the Reverend John Johnson, whose Indian name was Enmegahbowh. To the outside world the Clitherall colony has contributed writers, poets, artists, editors, educators, legislators, ministers, telegraph operators, stenographers, merchants, mechanics, engineers, and farmers.

Looking back over the history of this settlement one sees much of peace and happiness; much of danger, hardship, and privation; and some tragedy. The first death was that of William Mason, a shoemaker, who was frozen to death in a blizzard in February, 1867, while on his way from Millerville to Clitherall. His body was not found for several weeks.

Religious services were held by the pioneers each evening throughout the journey to Minnesota and regularly thereafter either in the homes or in the open air. Later on they were conducted in the church, a large two-story log build-

ing erected in 1870. This was the first and only church of its denomination ever built in Minnesota. It was furnished with homemade desk and benches and heated by a large box stove. This church was torn down in 1912 and replaced by a frame building, and the name "True Church of Jesus Christ" was adopted.

The log cabins, shops, schoolhouse, and church are gone, and there is little left of the Old Town except the cherished thoughts that live in the memory of the few remaining pioneers.

ALTA KIMBER

BATTLE LAKE, MINNESOTA

## THE RADISSON PROBLEM<sup>1</sup>

### THE PRAIRIE ISLAND CASE AGAIN

Indian descriptions of unexplored regions were notoriously unreliable. French writers were apt to attribute this to the natural tendency of the Indians to exaggerate, but that was not the principal reason. Much more important were first, the paucity of the Indian languages in words which could accurately describe natural features; and second, the extreme difficulty of getting an adequate translation of what the Indians actually said. The paid interpreters were trained to translate the terms that were commonly used in trading transactions. But once off this beaten path, they were, as a rule, lamentably deficient in capacity.

When Cartier was at Hochelaga, the Indian village on the site of Montreal, in 1536 the Indians told him about Niagara Falls. Similar statements were made to Champlain in 1604. But the French persisted in believing that it was a mere rapid, such as they had seen in the St. Lawrence River. Father Jerome Lalemant, writing in the *Relation* of 1641, gives a fairly good description of the Niagara River, but makes no mention of any falls.<sup>2</sup> Like other Frenchmen, he refused to believe in the falls until white men had seen them for themselves. Remember, this is the same Father Lalemant who recorded the interview with Groseilliers in 1660. It is extremely unlikely that Father Lalemant would give so specific and so accurate a description of the Mississippi River and conclude by comparing

<sup>1</sup> This discussion of the Radisson problem was opened by Mr. Goodrich and Dr. Nute in the September number of MINNESOTA HISTORY. The present rejoinder by Mr. Goodrich will be followed by further discussion of the subject in a future issue. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 21: 191, 315 (Cleveland, 1899); Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, 2: 65 n. (Boston, 1907).

its magnificence with that of the St. Lawrence, unless the statements of the Indians were backed up by the testimony of Groseilliers himself. He was so skeptical in regard to Indian descriptions, that he would not believe that there was a cataract in the Niagara River, although the Indians had been telling Frenchmen about it for a hundred years and more.

I believe that Dr. Nute has given a correct description of the "Auxoticiat" voyage of Radisson up to the point where he is about to leave Lake Huron. She has the wrong date, however, if, as seems to be pretty conclusively shown, the travelers described in the *Relation* of 1656 were Groseilliers and Radisson. Dr. Kellogg says: "Groseilliers, with his previous knowledge of the Algonquian languages, was very probably a man whom Lauson would select to go west in 1654. He may have taken Radisson with him at that time."<sup>3</sup>

It is quite certain that he took Radisson with him at that time. Radisson's narrative gives no intimation that either he or Groseilliers made any separate expeditions to the West. So far as can be shown from Radisson's narrative, they were together during this western trip. Many incidents recorded both in the *Jesuit Relations* and in Radisson's narrative, ending with the triumphant return in 1656, when the French explorers were greeted with salvos of artillery at Quebec, make fairly certain the fact that Groseilliers and Radisson were identical with the travelers named in the *Relation* of 1656. That being true, the "Auxoticiat" voyage began on August 6, 1654, and ended late in August, 1656.<sup>4</sup>

Henry Colin Campbell, in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1896, gives some very good reasons for

<sup>3</sup> Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 107 (Madison, 1925).

<sup>4</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 42: 219; *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684*, 170 (Boston, 1885).

his belief that the large island where the Hurons with Radisson found their wives and children was Bois Blanc in the northern part of Lake Huron, and that the strait which Radisson says was three leagues to the westward was Michilimackinac.

The map in the French archives in Paris to which Dr. Nute calls attention includes four islands at the mouth of Green Bay, marked "Islands whither the Hurons fled after the destruction of their nation by the Iroquois." After their disastrous defeat in 1649, the Hurons fled in all directions. Some of them fled to the Petuns, or Tobacco Hurons, south of Georgian Bay; some fled to the Neutral Nation; some fled to the Erie; some fled to the French settlements; and some even fled to the Conestoga. But a short time later the Neutrals and the Tobacco Hurons were themselves compelled to fly before Iroquois attacks. There is considerable evidence in addition to the map noted by Dr. Nute that certain bands of Tobacco Hurons took refuge on an island at the mouth of Green Bay. Perrot gives an account of this settlement and calls the place Huron Island. The *Jesuit Relations* give it the same name. Parkman also says the Hurons lived there.<sup>5</sup>

But in 1653 the Iroquois sent a war party of eight hundred men to attack Huron Island, in consequence of which the Hurons and Ottawa hastily abandoned that island and fled to the Potawatomi, at or near the southwest shore of Green Bay. From this point some of them proceeded to the Mississippi River and ascended that river to Prairie Island.<sup>6</sup> Radisson found some Hurons still living among the Potawatomi, and tried to persuade them to accompany

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas Perrot, "Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America," in Emma H. Blair, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes*, 1: 148, 149 n. (Cleveland, 1911); *Jesuit Relations*, 56: 115; Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, 2: 250-252 (Boston, 1906).

<sup>6</sup> Perrot, in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1: 151, 159-164; Kellogg, *French Régime*, 96.

him on a visit to the Sioux on Prairie Island or in its vicinity, where their brethren were already living, but they would not go. He says:

We had not as yett seene the nation Nadoneceronons. We had hurons w<sup>th</sup> us. Wee persuaded them to come along to see their owne nation that fled there, but they would not by any means. We thought to gett some castors there to bring downe to the ffrench, seeing [it] att last impossible to us to make such a circuit in a twelve month's time.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Nute's account of Radisson's snowshoe journey, it seems to me, is unsatisfactory. She makes him start near Lake Superior and proceed by a trail following a part of the distance along Wolf River to the vicinity of Green Bay, and thence down a river (although he plainly says he went up a river) to the "First Landing Isle." Such a trip would have been wholly without any purpose. If the "First Landing Isle" was Huron Island at the mouth of Green Bay, as she seems to intimate, he would find nobody there, for the Hurons and Ottawa had fled to the main land in 1653, and they never went back.

There is every reason to believe that the snowshoe journey began somewhere on Green Bay and ended on the Mississippi River near the mouth of the Wisconsin River, at which place the party built boats and ascended the Mississippi to Prairie Island. If Dr. Nute is correct in locating the village of St. Michel on the western shore of Green Bay, and if the Matonenock Indians whom Radisson names are the same as the Makoutensak mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1657-58 as being "about three days' journey inland, by water, from the village of St. Michel," then it is not surprising that Radisson should find them a short distance farther west, hunting in the buffalo country along the Mississippi River, nor that they should have with them a band of Potawatomi.

<sup>7</sup> Radisson, *Voyages*, 152.

Radisson and Groseilliers had been well received by the Potawatomi and by the Mascoutens, and when they reached Prairie Island they "weare well received againe" by the Hurons and Ottawa who were living there. Radisson had two very definite objects in taking so much trouble to reach Prairie Island. In the first place he wanted to see the Sioux, who were reputed to have great numbers of beaver within their domain. But more important still, he wanted to secure the assistance of the Tobacco Hurons in the perilous trip back to Montreal. These Hurons were familiar with the military tactics of the Iroquois, and could be depended upon to withstand a determined Iroquois attack. That Radisson's confidence in the Hurons was not misplaced was shown when the Iroquois attacked the return expedition in the Ottawa River. Radisson expresses the opinion that, if it had not been for the Hurons, "that knewed the Iroquois' tricks," the whole squadron would have fled in dismay, with a good prospect that the entire party would have been massacred.<sup>8</sup>

As for Michilimackinac being the "First Landing Isle," that is impossible. By 1655 the Iroquois scourge had swept the islands of the great lakes clean of inhabitants. A few Hurons had found an asylum among the Conestoga living along the Susquehanna River. Aside from that region, there was no safety from 1655 to 1670 east of Wisconsin for Hurons or Ottawa or Neutrals, except in the vicinity of the French settlements.

When the Hurons and Ottawa fled from Huron Island to the Potawatomi settlement, the three tribes built a strong fort, which the Iroquois were unable to take. With the help of the Illinois and some other tribes, the Iroquois were badly defeated and their further western progress stopped.<sup>9</sup> When a band of Ottawa still left on Manitoulin Island fled

<sup>8</sup> Radisson, *Voyages*, 164.

<sup>9</sup> Kellogg, *French Régime*, 98.

to Quebec in 1650, they found the whole country along the French and Ottawa rivers deserted as far as Montreal, on account of Iroquois attacks. The Nipissing Indians had fled westward to Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior. Many fragments of tribes gathered in Wisconsin.<sup>10</sup>

The Iroquois war with the Erie gave the Hurons and Ottawa a little respite, and they succeeded in reaching Montreal in 1654. Radisson and Groseilliers went back with them, probably at the governor's request, but the Mohawk, who were not engaged in the Erie war, attacked them fiercely. In August, 1656, Radisson and Groseilliers returned to Quebec, accompanied by several hundred Indians with great quantities of beaver skins, and were welcomed with universal rejoicing.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps they made another trip to the west the same year.

When Father Menard went west in 1660 to attempt the reestablishment of a mission among the Ottawa, he found complete desolation. He found no habitations until he reached Keweenaw Bay, half way along the south shore of Lake Superior. After his untimely death, Father Allouez went out to succeed him in 1665 and found similar conditions. Bands of Indians of various tribes visited Sault Ste. Marie at certain seasons of the year to fish and trade, but there were no villages east of Keweenaw except those about Green Bay.<sup>12</sup>

The Potawatomi made their first trip to Montreal in 1668. The following year they made another attempt to reach the French settlements. On the way they stopped at Michilimackinac, and found that island still without inhabitants. They encountered there, however, a small roving band of Iroquois. The two bands fled from each other with equal terror, and the Potawatomi abandoned their trip

<sup>10</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 35: 15, 199-205; 40: 213; 41: 79; 44: 245-247.

<sup>11</sup> Radisson, *Voyages*, 140, 169; *Jesuit Relations*, 41: 77; 42: 33, 219.

<sup>12</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 48: 259-265; 49: 161, 249; 50: 249-271.

to Montreal and returned to Wisconsin.<sup>13</sup> Even as late as 1670, when the Iroquois were at peace with the French and Perrot was conducting a party of Ottawa down the Ottawa River, he had great difficulty in persuading his companions that the Iroquois would keep the peace, and they crept past small parties of Iroquois with fear and trembling.<sup>14</sup> In 1670, after the Iroquois had demonstrated their pacific disposition, certain bands of Ottawa ventured to reoccupy their old home on Manitoulin Island. During the same year Huron hunters visited Michilimackinac and announced to the Jesuits their intention of returning there to make a permanent home, whereupon the latter were encouraged to begin the mission of St. Ignace.<sup>15</sup>

Hurons and Ottawa living at Chequamegon Bay, many of whom had formerly lived on Prairie Island, envied the Sioux their possession of the Indian paradise at Centerville.<sup>16</sup> In 1671 they persuaded the Potawatomi and Sauk to assist them in an attack upon the Sioux, for which purpose they had collected a large quantity of guns and ammunition. But bows and arrows won nevertheless, and this—their third attack upon the Sioux—failed even more disastrously than had their previous attacks. Lake Superior was no longer a safe refuge for Hurons and Ottawa, and they fled eastward, dragging their missionary, Father Marquette, with them. The Hurons made their home at Michilimackinac, which had been unoccupied for fifteen years. The Ottawa went on to Manitoulin Island, from which their people had fled during the Iroquois wars, and which had been destitute of inhabitants from that time un-

<sup>13</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 51: 264; Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie, "History of the Savage Peoples Who Are Allies of New France," in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1: 334.

<sup>14</sup> Perrot, in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1: 210-214.

<sup>15</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 55: 99-101, 143, 159, 171, 319.

<sup>16</sup> Albert M. Goodrich, "Early Dakota Trails and Settlements at Centerville, Minn.," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 315-322 (1915).

til the previous year. The Potawatomi, also flying from the Sioux, reoccupied Huron Island, at the mouth of Green Bay, and the island came to be called Potawatomi Island, and is now known as Washington Island. This island had also been vacant since 1653.<sup>17</sup>

ALBERT M. GOODRICH

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<sup>17</sup> See the translation of a note by R. P. J. Tailhan, in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1: 149.

## THE GEOLOGIC ORIGIN OF THE SAVANNA AND PRAIRIE RIVER PORTAGES

Notice has previously been called to the fact that the adoption of the Savanna Portage as one of the most important links in the chain of communication between the upper Mississippi and the St. Lawrence valleys was due to the physical fact that here the waters of these two great river systems probably approach each other more closely than at any other point.<sup>1</sup> The student of physiography is naturally led to seek in the records of this region's geologic past the reason for the close proximity of the headwaters of these two river systems. Fortunately in this case there is an answer to his questions—an answer which reveals in striking manner the intimate relation existing between physiography and history and which tells a dramatic story of the results of the clash of natural forces in the days when our world was young.

All who are familiar with the topography of the region west and northwest of Duluth will recall that its most striking feature is the series of rocky hills rising steeply above the waters of Lake Superior to the height of eight hundred feet with a slope as great in some places as a thousand feet to the mile. Beyond this to the north and west lies a fairly level-topped plateau. The steep slope or escarpment which bounds the plateau on the southeast probably follows a fault line, but it is remarkably fresh and uneroded for an exposure subjected to the processes of weathering and stream erosion during what is even in geologic reckoning a very long period of time. This fact also raises a question, the answer to which is found in the book of nature as is that to the first one raised above.

<sup>1</sup> Irving H. Hart, "The Old Savanna Portage," *ante*, 8: 117.

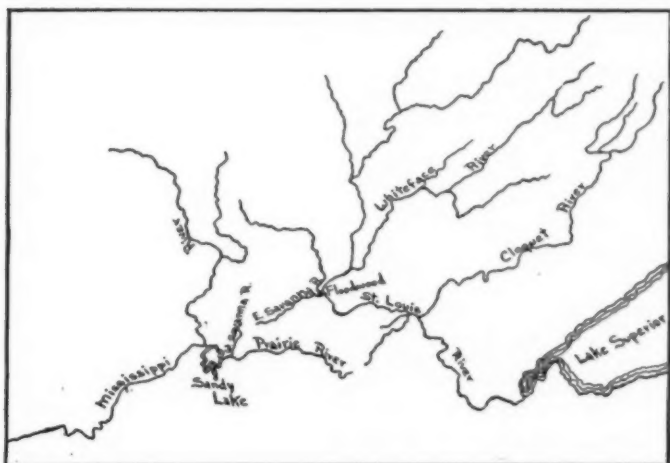
The following quotation, taken from a publication of the United States Geological Survey, gives the answer to both these questions.<sup>2</sup>

The streams of the Duluth escarpment descend very steeply to Lake Superior; few of them head more than 4 or 5 miles from Lake Superior . . . the greatest distance being 12 to 14 miles, in contrast with lengths of 30 to 75 miles on the north and northeast shores of Lake Superior. Many of them have as steep an average grade as 150 to 250 feet to the mile . . . the general average being 80 to 160 feet to the mile. No one of these rather tumultuous streams has cut a significantly deep valley in the face of the escarpment and most of them have only cut short gorges with small rapids and waterfalls.

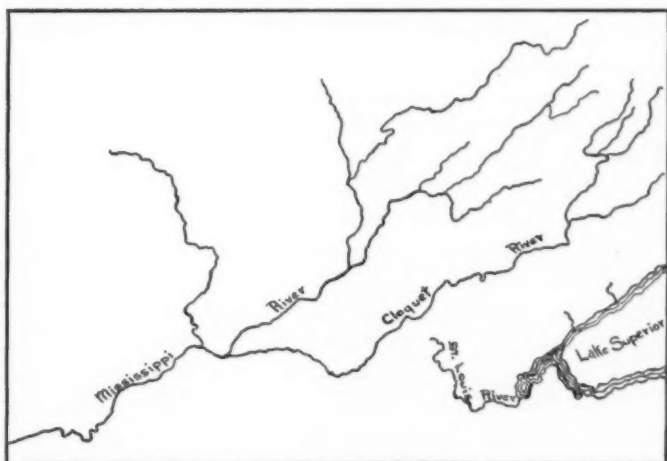
Quite in contrast with these steep-graded, rapidly falling streams of the escarpment are the leisurely flowing streams of the plateau surface above. The Cloquet, the upper St. Louis, and various other rivers have an average slope of about 8 or 10 feet to the mile. It is well established that a rapidly flowing stream with a steep grade is able to deepen its valley rapidly and to extend its headwater area so that it encroaches upon the area drained by an adjacent leisurely flowing stream . . . capturing and diverting the latter or some portion of its headwaters. Stream captures or piracies, as they are called, of this kind are common. We should expect, then, that in the course of stream development for a great length of time several of the swiftly flowing streams of the escarpment would have extended their headwaters back to the region drained by the leisurely flowing streams of the plateau surface and captured part or all of these drainage systems. The fact that many of the large streams have not done so is evidence of their youth.

The largest stream in the region, however, seems to have already done just what would be expected . . . and it is natural that the largest stream should be able to do this first. St. Louis River, cutting back at a point near the end of the escarpment where it is rather low, has been able to extend its headwater region northwestward until it has captured the southwestward-flowing Cloquet and the southwestward-flowing stream that forms the present headwaters of the St. Louis itself. These captured streams had been a part of the leisurely drainage system of the plateau surface, and, it seems certain, were within the Mississippi basin. . . . Indeed, a large valley extending southwestward from the town of Floodwood, where the St. Louis now turns abruptly to the southeast, indicates that this is probably the latest elbow of capture at which the piratical St. Louis

<sup>2</sup>Charles R. Van Hise and Charles K. Leith, *The Geology of the Lake Superior Region*, 112 (United States Geological Survey, *Mono-graphs*, vol. 52—Washington, 1911).



PRESENT DRAINAGE SYSTEMS OF THE ST. LOUIS AND MISSISSIPPI  
RIVER HEADWATERS



ANCIENT DRAINAGE SYSTEMS OF THE ST. LOUIS AND MISSISSIPPI  
RIVER HEADWATERS

[Maps redrawn from Van Hise and Leith, *Geology of the  
Lake Superior Region*, 113.]

has been able to divert to the Lake Superior-St. Lawrence drainage system a large headwater tributary of [the] Mississippi River, as it had previously diverted the Cloquet, another Mississippi headwater.

The Duluth escarpment is relatively fresh and uneroded because in all probability the tremendous cataclysm of nature which so markedly changed the relative levels of these two contiguous areas is comparatively recent and the carving of the surface of the escarpment by stream flow is a process still comparatively young.

Reference to the first of the two maps accompanying this article, which represents the present drainage systems of the region northwest of the head of Lake Superior, shows the St. Louis River with its right-angled turn from southwest to southeast near Floodwood, with the East Savanna flowing into the main stream at the same point. The remarkable fact should be noted that the flow of this tributary is directly opposite to that of the stream which it now feeds, a physiographic characteristic extremely uncommon. The second map given herewith offers a graphic explanation of this anomaly. Before the "piratical St. Louis" had cut its way back to this point the present valley of the East Savanna was the channel of a much larger stream flowing in the opposite direction, and forming what was then perhaps the main headwater of the Mississippi. Still earlier the St. Louis had captured and diverted the waters of the present Cloquet River, which at first probably, as did then the White Face River, flowed west and south into the Mississippi. The valley of the Prairie River approaches at its present head another smaller stream now flowing into the St. Louis from the southwest. The direction of flow of this little stream, like that of the East Savanna, has been reversed.

The two old stream valleys of the two Savannas and of the Prairie and the unnamed little stream near its head are the routes of the Savanna and the Prairie River portages. Ages before man had first appeared on earth, nature, "mov-

ing in mysterious ways its wonders to perform," had carved out for him these two passageways for his later use in trade and transportation. Nothing in this old world of ours ever just happens. Every fact in life, every event in history, every physical feature of the world around us is a result of causes, sometimes revealed but more often hidden in the obscurity of the past. It is gratifying sometimes, as in this case, to be privileged to discover some of these causes.

To the lover of Sandy Lake, this story from the book of the world's past lends to the lure of its beauty and the romance of its history the additional charm of ageless wonder.

IRVING HARLOW HART

IOWA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE  
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## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE GOUCHER COLLEGE COLLECTION OF MAYER WATER COLORS

In the introduction to the first volume of the society's series of *Narratives and Documents*, recently published under the title *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank B. Mayer*, mention is made (p. 22) of a group of thirty-one water-color paintings of Minnesota scenes by Mayer that was acquired by Goucher College, Baltimore, in 1903. This interesting collection has now been sent to the society as a loan through the courtesy of President David A. Robertson and of Professor Katherine Jeanne Gallagher, both of Goucher College.

It will be recalled that Mayer, a youthful Baltimore artist, traveled to Minnesota in 1851 to sketch the Indians of the region and to attend the treaty of Traverse des Sioux. His original diaries and sketchbooks, kept during his travels, and some separate drawings probably made at a later date, are in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago. The artist long wished to prepare a record of his Minnesota journey for the Minnesota Historical Society; he had in mind transcribing the diary and illustrating it with drawings or water colors based on his sketches. In 1871 he offered to prepare such a collection for about two thousand dollars; several years later he agreed to sell the diary and fifty drawings for a thousand dollars.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have prepared some pencil drawings, for in 1895 Mr. Arthur Bibbins, director of the museum of the Baltimore Woman's College, as Goucher

<sup>1</sup> Mayer to Alexander Ramsey, January 10, 1871; to J. Fletcher Williams, January 31, 1887, Minnesota Historical Society Archives.

College was then called, visited Mayer's studio at Annapolis and saw there sixty-three drawings of Minnesota scenes and characters. To him the artist confided that it had been his "lifelong wish" to "complete these sketches in water colors." It was Mr. Bibbins who drew the matter to the attention of Henry Walters, a well-known Baltimore collector of art works, who agreed to finance the project. For some reason, Mayer does not seem to have started work on the water colors until 1897. Most of the paintings are dated from 1897 to 1899 and a few are undated. Only thirty-one of the sixty-three paintings that he planned to prepare were complete at the time of his death, which occurred on July 28, 1899. Four years later Walters presented the paintings to the Woman's College.<sup>2</sup>

Among the most charming paintings in the collection are those in which Mayer depicts the life of the Sioux at Kaposia, near the present site of South St. Paul, where he had his first opportunity to observe the natives at close range. As in his sketches, perhaps the most interesting of these pictures is the general view of the village, showing teepees and summer houses and the cemetery on a hilltop in the distance. In general arrangement this painting is much like the pencil sketch of the village reproduced on page 113 of the *Diary*. Another view of the Sioux summer lodges is furnished in a painting labelled "Hoohamaza and his wives." It shows the Indian who took Mayer by canoe from St. Paul to Kaposia with his two wives in a canoe approaching the village. The interior of a lodge, with two Indians and a squaw reclining on the elevated couches built against the walls and a kettle steaming over an open fire in the center, is the subject of another painting. A number of figures in pen and ink, reproduced on page 128 of the *Diary*, are worked into an attractive painting entitled "Leaving for a hunt, Kaposia, 1851." A picture called "The Mourners" probably recalls a scene at the Kaposia

<sup>2</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, May 11, 1903.

cemetery. Drawings that Mayer made of Sioux children at the village are utilized in the paintings entitled "The pet of the family" and "The unwilling model," and "Pounding hominy—The chief's children."<sup>3</sup>

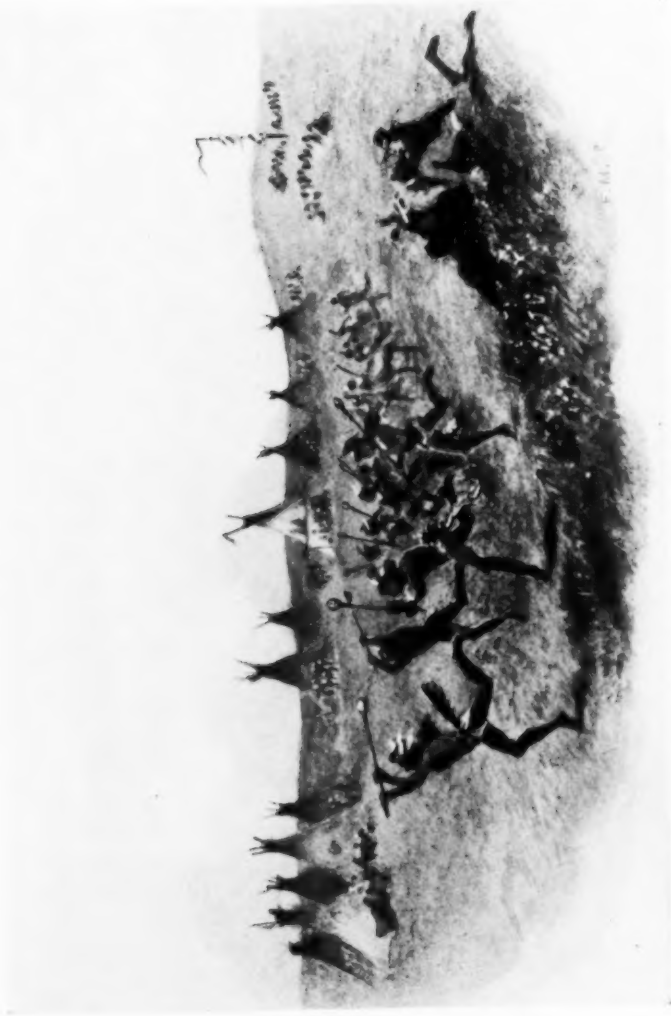
A group of five paintings relating to the la crosse game, showing the individual players and the action of the game, illustrates interestingly Mayer's use of the drawings made in Minnesota. In three of them individual players are pictured—one from the front, one from the rear, and another in action. The front view is based on a drawing of a ball-player that is reproduced in the published volume (p. 156). In the painting the breechcloth is represented in bright blue; the ribbons in the hair are yellow and red; spots of red appear on the face. An attractive background showing the prairie at Traverse des Sioux and the Minnesota River has been added. The rear view is worked out in great detail; it shows a Sisseton Sioux whose hair has been carefully dressed and who is wearing the tail or "wamekenunke" described by Mayer on page 152 of his *Diary*. The painting obviously is based upon some extremely rough sketches that appear in volume 41 of the sketchbooks. In the third painting the "wamenkenunke" is again illustrated, this time streaming behind the player as he dashes across the prairie, and an even more elaborate headdress is shown. At the sides and across the crown of the head the hair is plaited, but in the rear it streams loosely. For decoration there is a headband of blue and white, a mass of feathers—probably birds' wings—in a bright vermilion, and a long quill. All the details of this elaborate headdress were worked out on a small scale in a profile drawing of this Indian—"Kampesca (white moss, fungus)"—that Mayer

<sup>3</sup> The first of these groups, which shows a papoose, an older child, and a dog in the entrance to a teepee, had been used by Mayer as the basis for an earlier painting, for in the Sketchbooks, 40: 49, opposite the drawing on which it is based, the artist wrote: "Sketched for Mrs. Bierstadt Paris 1869. in oil." This drawing is reproduced in the printed *Diary*, 127.



**A HALF-BREED TRAPPER**

[From a water-color painting by Frank B. Mayer, in the possession of Goucher College, Baltimore.]



INDIANS PLAYING LA CROSSE AT TRAVERSE DES SIOUX, 1851

[From a water-color painting by Frank B. Mayer, in the possession of Goucher College, Baltimore.]

made in Minnesota. The figure in this case is idealized; Mayer's imagination led him to picture the Greek Mercury rather than the Sioux ball-player. The same impulse that inspired him to draw the "Indian Apollo" reproduced on page 156 of the published *Diary*, doubtless led him to paint this "flying mercury." Here the classic outline conflicts strangely with savage coloring and a background in which teepees and other Indians figure.

A group of players "Before the Ball-play" is shown in a fourth painting. Two of these in the foreground are using a pool as a mirror while they decorate themselves with white clay "by smearing the palm of the hand & then patting the surface of the body so as to leave the impression of the hand." Others have completed this ceremony and are walking toward the field of action, their blankets gracefully draped over one shoulder; still others are practicing for the game by swinging their la crosse sticks. Rough drawings of individual figures in this group appear in volume 41 of the sketchbooks. The fifth painting in the group shows the players competing in the la crosse game. More than a dozen figures are seen flying across the prairie, apparently in pursuit of the ball. A goal post that looks much like a May pole appears in the distance to the right; in the background are numerous teepees and groups of spectators; a white man and two Indians repose among the prairie flowers in the foreground watching the game. The painting with some slight variation is based upon an extremely vague and delicate drawing in the sketchbooks, which nevertheless shows clearly the action of the la crosse game. This group of five paintings is a remarkable visual record of the ball game at Traverse des Sioux, so vividly described by the artist in his *Diary*, 150-158.

Mayer also made some of the dances and ceremonies that he observed at Traverse des Sioux the subjects of paintings. The thunder dance, which he describes in great

detail in his *Diary*, 178–184, and which is pictured in a rough sketch, is set forth in an elaborate painting. Unfortunately the artist has lost here much of the life and action so skillfully portrayed in the pencil sketch. A group of three figures is shown in Mayer's painting of the buffalo dance. Mayer pictures also the Mandan dance, in which the Indians are shown revolving around a seated figure playing on a highly ornamented drum. These dances are described in the *Diary*, as is the "Marching Forest" (p. 188, 196–199, 201), also pictured in a painting. A ceremony that is not mentioned in the diary but that is portrayed in a painting is the "Feast of Mondawmin" or "Indian Thanksgiving"—the corn festival of the Sioux.<sup>4</sup>

A portrait of Little Crow, chief of the Kaposia band, in full regalia, might be grouped with the Kaposia paintings, although the drawing on which it is based was made at Traverse des Sioux. It was not until the chief reached that place and was "attired in state" that Mayer could persuade him to sit for a portrait. Brilliant combinations of red and blue help to produce an effect of savage splendor in this painting, but it lacks the strength and ruggedness of the pencil sketch that is reproduced in the *Diary*. Other portraits and individual figures of Indians among the drawings have been used to good effect in the paintings. There are an artistic group of four heads of Sisseton types, a painting of three seated figures labelled "The Three Friends," and a group of five heads that forms the upper part of a painting entitled "The Dakota in Minnesota 1851." Below the latter group is a prairie scene with teepees. A drawing of an unidentified Indian girl that appears in volume 42 of the sketchbooks is used as the cen-

<sup>4</sup> This subject seems to have been a favorite with the artist. A painting of it, prepared for S. J. Wyman of Baltimore, is reproduced in Mayer's *Drawings and Paintings* (Baltimore, 1872). An engraving of the subject, which appears in Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, 6: 385, is credited to Mayer. He also painted a small sepia water color of the scene, which is owned by Mr. and Mrs. John Sylvester of Augusta, Georgia.

tral figure in a painting entitled "Winuna. (The first-born)." This may, of course, be intended to represent Nancy McClure, who was also known as Winona, and who is described in some detail by Mayer in his *Diary*, 167-171. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that to the left of Winona in the painting is a bent and gray-clad figure—probably Nancy's grandmother. A figure similar to the latter appears in Mayer's sketch for a painting of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux.

When Mayer was in contact with the Sioux of the Plains at Traverse des Sioux, he became interested in the Indian as an equestrian. Two paintings reflect this interest—"Indians of the plains, Sisseton Dakota," and "Dakota horsemen." In each three mounted figures are shown. Some of the Sioux who gathered at the Traverse for the treaty also are pictured in the painting entitled "A '5 o'clock tea.' Evening meal." "The Council," in which several seated Indians are grouped around a blanketed orator, probably represents one of the conferences that preceded the treaty. From the drawings the central figure is easily identified as Sleepy Eye, a Sisseton chief. A painting entitled "'Singing a present' Sisseton camp" pictures a Sioux begging custom.

A half-breed trapper, tall and graceful, poised on a high bluff overlooking the Mississippi, is the only non-Indian inhabitant of the Northwest portrayed by Mayer in the Goucher College collection. In only one of the paintings is interest centered in scenery rather than people. Here Mayer represents Lakes Harriet and Calhoun—now within the city of Minneapolis—in their original forest setting. Those who have read Mayer's *Diary* will recall that the artist went on an excursion to Lake Calhoun with some of the residents of Fort Snelling. Two pictures in which the Indian is idealized—"Hiawatha and Minnehaha, Sioux brave and bride," and "'The Lady's Man,' Iago, the great boaster"—complete the collection.

Like Mayer's sketch in oil for a painting of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, which is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society, these water-color paintings show how the artist used the sketches made during his journey to the frontier in 1851. In his finished work, Mayer lost some of the rugged vitality that is characteristic of his sketches, but by adding color he furnished a more complete record than was possible when he worked with pencil only. In order that the members of the society and readers of its publications may have an opportunity to see these paintings, plans are being made to exhibit them in the society's museum early in December.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The March of Democracy: The Rise of the Union.* By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (New York and London, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. xvi, 428 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Mr. Adams' latest work in the field of American history is an excursion into a type of writing quite different from anything he has done before. Since producing the brilliant and scholarly New England trilogy he has written in a much more popular vein the interpretive *Adams Family* and the *Epic of America*. The *March of Democracy*, which will be completed by the publication of a second volume, is to be a strictly factual account of the entire period of American history.

Written with the great literary ability of all Mr. Adams' work, it will provide a brief, precise treatment of the subject with as little interpretation or intrusion of the author's interests, opinions, or *tendenz* as possible. It may be regarded as a preparation for the reading of the *Epic of America* or the Beards' *Rise of American Civilization*. Although its format is not of a textbook variety and its literary style is above that of most textbooks, the book as a whole must rank with the more recent college textbooks, such as Morison and Commager's *Growth of the American Republic*. In his preface Mr. Adams says: "It is impossible either to interpret for ourselves or properly to appraise the interpretation of others unless we have a clear understanding of the course of events in the past. Generalizing and philosophizing are delightful and fascinating tasks, but likely to be of little worth without a more prosaic basis of correct factual knowledge." As a textbook then, done up in handsome and expensive dress and designed for a public no longer in the classroom, the book should be regarded.

Mr. Adams' project is primarily informative, impartial, a summary of the most recent scholarship, and is written with a facile pen and a style as clear and as sparkling as one always expects in the author's writing. Since he frankly asserts his desire to avoid philosophizing and generalization, one may regret but cannot censure the lack of subtlety, delicate irony, and flashes of brilliant writing and interpretation found in his earlier work. One may, to be sure, question

whether those for whom this new type of book is intended will be the ones who will buy it or read it, and one may sorrow with those who have hoped that Mr. Adams might soon return to the rôle he filled so happily in the New England trilogy.

The first volume of the *March of Democracy* has as its subtitle the *Rise of the Union* and covers the period from the discovery of America to the Civil War. Very little space is given to the pre-revolutionary period and nearly three-fourths of the book deals with the years after 1789. Some little attention is paid to the social and economic factors in the period, but the author sticks closely to the strictly narrative form and apparently feels that there may have been too much emphasis on things economic in the modern treatment of American history.

One of the outstanding features of the book and its great claim to distinction among others of its kind is the large number of extremely interesting illustrations. Copies of cartoons, engravings, contemporary maps, portraits, and photographs appear in great profusion and are a real delight. A picture on page 383 of Webster addressing the Senate in the famous seventh of March speech may interest citizens of Minnesota, for it includes the figures of General Sibley and other statesmen well-known in Minnesota.

The format of the book is excellent and it is a pleasure to handle and to read it, for binding, paper, type, and index leave nothing to be desired. There are the unavoidable typographical errors which no one seems to be able to escape, such as "normally obtuse" (p. 306) when "morally obtuse" must have been intended. There are a few errors in statement also which might have been avoided easily. No one could consider Amos Kendall an "old and tried friend" of Andrew Jackson's in 1829, whatever he may have been later, nor is it quite correct to follow a list of Boston historians which includes the names of Prescott, Motley, and Parkman with the statement: "It is odd, however, how little they were concerned for the most part with American history outside their own provincial section." But it is futile searching for minor errors in a book so full of accuracy of statement. Mr. Adams has succeeded well in his purpose of telling "as accurately and impartially as possible the story of the rise of our nation," and yet we may be forgiven the desire that he may soon return to fields which will require the exercise of all his powers of scholarship and of writing.

ALICE FELT TYLER

*Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, vol. 1. By WALDO G. LELAND. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932. xiii, 343 p. \$1.00)

This work, one of the volumes of the Carnegie Institution of Washington describing manuscripts of American interest in foreign archives, appears after some fifteen other depositories have been outlined in similar *Guides* that relate to materials in Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Russia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Canada, Cuba, and Mexico. The author makes apologies and explanations for the late appearance of his guide to the important material in Paris depositories. Some benefits may be derived, however, from its tardy publication. In the meantime the *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803* (see *ante*, 9:144), which is a by-product, though a predecessor, of the *Guide*, has been published, with the exception of the index volume. The two works supplement each other in some respects, though dealing with the same materials. Mr. Leland's guide, for example, is arranged according to the filing system of the French libraries; the calendar is published chronologically regardless of depositories. The latter contains almost no references to the years before 1684, whereas the *Guide* has considerable data for the sixteenth century. Again, the *Calendar* digests only the material of value for the history of the Mississippi Valley, whereas the scope of Mr. Leland's work is a little more than continent-wide, including to some extent South America and the West Indies.

In a cursory examination the following items were noted in the *Guide* that are not found in the *Calendar*: Father Joseph Poncet's letter of July 28, 1647, from Ste. Marie des Hurons to Father Claude Martin; Bernou's letters of April 24 and June 5, 1685, to Eusèbe Renaudot, relative to Radisson, who is referred to as a scoundrel and, seemingly, a Huguenot; Le Sueur's journal of 1700; a document of March 20, 1727, telling of the arrest of Radisson; a letter, apparently of the year 1683, by "Fr. Louis Hen[ne]pin, pauvre esclave des barbares," to Abbé Renaudot, recalling that Renaudot was the first to be informed of Hennepin's discovery and complaining of Abbé Bernou's conduct towards him; an autograph letter signed by P. E. Radisson dated January 2, 1678, at Grenada and telling of his voyage to Brest; a memoir of Radisson's and

notes in the same handwriting (Bernou's) on New France, stating among other facts that "La Nouvelle France est un pays d'une si grande estendue, si beau, si fertile et si bien scitué qu'il semble que Dieu l'ait reservé pour la France"—a statement that recalls at once Radisson's narrative of his inland voyages; a series of sketch maps, seemingly of the seventeenth century, including the Lake of the Sioux, Lake Superior, the Lake of the Illinois, part of the Mississippi, Lake Assiniboine, and Lake Christino; a letter of March 16, 1698, from Renaudot to Louis P. Pontchartrain stating: "Car vous n'ignorez pas que si le Prince d'Orange a un titre pour ce pays là, il est fondé sur l'épître dedicatoire du livre du P. Hennepin, qui est un séraphique forfante s'il en fut jamais"; Father Paul Ragueneau's letter of November 7, 1664, to Jean Baptiste Colbert mentioning that Groseilliers was in New England at the time; a letter written in 1818 by Constantine S. Rafinesque to the Baron Georges Cuvier, in which there is a reference to Major Stephen H. Long's expedition; twelve letters by William H. Keating to Adolphe Brongniart, written between 1821 and 1826, relative to scientific books, specimens, and methods; and a letter to Brongniart by Isaac Hays, dated 1823, telling of Major Long's expedition of that year. Other volumes of the *Guide* are in preparation.

G. L. N.

*The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States; Its Origin and Development under the Leadership of the Rt. Rev. John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, President of the Association, 1879-1892.* By SISTER MARY EVANGELA HENTHORNE, B. V. M. ([Champaign, Illinois, 1932.] 190 p. Illustrations, maps.)

The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States was organized in an attempt to meet the Irish problem in eastern cities. Driven out of their native land by famine, the Irish arrived on the Atlantic seaboard without the means to establish themselves there or to proceed farther. Various efforts to help groups of them to move westward had no appreciable effect except to point the way to similar undertakings on a larger scale. The writer of this book tells how, in 1879, certain Irish Catholic prelates of the Middle West, impelled by the desire to better the wretched conditions of their countrymen, as well as to colonize their own dioceses with the

faithful, helped to organize the above-named association. She describes at length the organizing and advertising of the concern, the purchasing of two large tracts of land in Minnesota and Nebraska, and the transplanting of colonists onto western farms. When the organization was on a firm basis, with the shares paying dividends, she says, the clergy turned the enterprise over to the laity, with the result that in 1891 it was voted to call in the shares and disband. In her concluding chapters she enlarges upon the development of the Nebraska colonies and touches upon the history of the Nobles County, Minnesota, colony established by the association, as well as that of other Irish colonies in that state and in Arkansas.

It is a matter of regret that material on so recent a movement is so scarce. Most of the writer's information was secured from Catholic newspapers, she having been obliged to visit four widely separated institutions to obtain the files of the five newspapers that chronicle the progress of the association. Periodicals, pamphlets, some interviews with surviving colonists, and scrapbooks constitute her other sources. From these she has evolved a clear, well-organized account of the movement.

The study treats of an interesting phase in the history of the immigrant in the United States. These particular groups, through the agency of their church, their countrymen, and railroad companies, were given an opportunity to start life anew on the western plains. One would like to know more about the colonists themselves than is told here. Transplanted to prairie farms at the heyday of land speculation there, did they adjust themselves to their new life, and did they withstand the agricultural depression that so soon followed? The date of the disbanding of the association suggests an economic cause for this action, rather than a decline of interest. The account is written largely from the point of view of the founders and is derived principally from their own printed records. The author accounts for this attitude by her prefatory statement that the study is presented as a phase in the career of Bishop John L. Spalding of Peoria, Illinois, who was from start to finish the leading spirit in the enterprise. It serves almost equally well as a tribute to Archbishop John Ireland of Minnesota who, together with Dillon O'Brien of St. Paul, had planted small colonies in that state and who, when the larger project was inaugurated, spared no efforts to make it a success.

ALICE E. SMITH

*Gopher Tales: Stories from the History of Minnesota.* By ANTOINETTE E. FORD. (Chicago, Lyons & Carnahan, 1932. vi, 192 p. Illustrations. \$.60.)

*Work and Play with Gopher Tales.* By ANTOINETTE E. FORD. (Chicago, Lyons & Carnahan, 1932. 32 p. \$.15.)

*Adventures in Minnesota History.* By ROBERT J. MAYO, superintendent of schools, Hopkins, Minnesota. (Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Columbus, E. M. Hale and Company, 1931. viii, 277 p. Illustrations, maps. \$1.00.)

*Study Directions and Comprehension Tests, for Use with Adventures in Minnesota History.* By ROBERT J. MAYO. (Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Columbus, E. M. Hale and Company, 1931. iv, 68 p. Maps. \$.15.)

These two books and the accompanying study outlines are designed to meet public school requirements in elementary Minnesota history for fourth-grade pupils.

In her *Gopher Tales*, Miss Ford, author of *My Minnesota*, has aimed at simplicity in the telling. So successfully has she simplified wording and sentence construction that most of her brief *Tales* can be understood and enjoyed by even younger children than those for whom the book is primarily intended. The large type and short sentences make easy reading, and the lively and effective illustrations in color by Gertrude S. Kinder are well adapted to arouse interest. Children will find *Gopher Tales* a book for home enjoyment as well as for school study.

The accompanying pamphlet, *Work and Play with Gopher Tales*, is made up of exercises which follow the book text closely and help young readers to understand and to remember the gist of each chapter. The suggestions for play based upon the *Tales* ought to be of especial value to the teacher or parent who uses the book for younger children.

More than three times the length of *Gopher Tales*, *Adventures in Minnesota History* is less simplified and more comprehensive. Mr. Mayo goes into greater detail than is possible in a work of the length and type of Miss Ford's. He correlates the events of Minnesota history more closely with the history of the United States and Canada. Both writers treat Radisson's supposed wanderings in what is now Minnesota as established fact, but Miss Ford contents herself with characterizing that adventurer as a Frenchman who "came from Canada to get furs," while Mr. Mayo sketches Radisson's earlier

life and attempts to follow the routes of his two western journeys. Miss Ford devotes several pages to the Sioux treaties of 1851, but her only mention of the outbreak of 1862 is a brief paragraph in a chapter dealing with Henry H. Sibley and how Minnesota became a territory and a state. Mr. Mayo, on the other hand, describes the treaty-making, the resulting situation, and the Sioux War in detail.

While both *Gopher Tales* and *Adventures in Minnesota History* are designed for fourth-grade use, Mr. Mayo has evidently planned his book for somewhat older pupils as well. It is intended, he says, "as a basis for interest in and understanding of history in and above the Fourth Grade." In the preface he tells us that he tested his material in the class room for three years before publishing the book. The volume is fully illustrated, principally from photographs.

*Study Directions and Comprehension Tests* is a "pupil's guide book" to the *Adventures*. It is composed of study outlines, tests, and outline maps of explorers' routes, the beginnings of cities, and the like. The maps should be especially valuable to the young student.

It is almost inevitable that in such condensed and simplified accounts there should be minor inaccuracies, and that through the omission of many events, facts, and details, some erroneous impressions should be left on the minds of young readers. Miss Ford's *Tales* might be criticized for such omissions. In Mr. Mayo's work attention must be called to one error of commission.

On page 230 of the *Adventures*, is a plat of a township, divided into sections. In numbering the sections, Mr. Mayo has commenced at the northwest corner of the township and numbered to the right or east across the upper tier to number 6, then he has begun again at the left or western end of the second tier with number 7. This is the method of section numbering used in Canada. In representing a Minnesota township, he should have begun at the northeast corner and numbered first to the left or west, back along the second tier from west to east, then the third tier from east to west again, and so on to thirty-six. Another change that may be suggested for future editions of the *Adventures* is in the title to the portrait of Governor Sibley on page 154, which might better read "First Governor of the State of Minnesota," instead of "First Governor of Minnesota."

The use of such well-planned and entertainingly written books as these *Tales* and *Adventures*, and of the study outlines that go with them, in the grade schools of Minnesota must assuredly arouse chil-

dren's interest in the history of their own state. For some of the pupils, this may be the only systematic instruction in Minnesota history they will ever receive. For others the volumes will serve as an introduction to more detailed study and reading later on.

ETHEL C. BRILL

*House of Vanished Splendor.* By WILLIAM McNALLY. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932. 313 p. \$2.50.)

Minnesota, rich in possibilities for the novelist, but rather generally neglected in the field of fictional literature, has recently received fresh attention through the publication of William McNally's *House of Vanished Splendor*. That this novel is of more than local interest is evidenced by the fact that it not only has been a "best seller" in the bookshops of the state but has enjoyed the same distinction in many other places where significant writing is recognized and appreciated.

Mr. McNally, of course, is well informed in his Minnesota back-grounds. He was formerly an editorial writer for the *Minneapolis Tribune* and has made special studies in the history of this state. It is only natural that he should experience the impulse to gather some of his materials into a novel. This he has done with force and dramatic skill.

His story is typical of what has happened again and again in the development of Minnesota. He tells of the coming of a pioneer to the state; how this man, rising to his opportunities, builds a considerable fortune; and how this fortune later is dissipated by his descendants, who, lacking his steadfast qualities, gradually deteriorate spiritually, morally, and physically. The characterizations are vividly drawn, descriptive passages are illuminating, the narrative has cumulative power leading to a logical conclusion, and the result is engrossing reading.

Students of Minnesota history no doubt will believe that they can identify the principal characters as personages prominent in the affairs of the state when it was evolving from a rough frontier region to its present condition, but whether or not their identifications conform with what the author had in mind no one but Mr. McNally can say. At any rate, he has made a most worth-while contribution—the outstanding contribution since *Main Street* to the novels dealing with Minnesota.

MERLE POTTER

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The eighty-fourth annual meeting of the society will be held on January 16. Outstanding features of the day's sessions will be the thirteenth annual local history conference, the annual address, and the triennial election of the executive council.

A regular meeting of the executive council was held in the superintendent's office on October 10, with the president of the society, Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, presiding. The reports of the treasurer and the superintendent were presented, important recent donations were announced, and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, the curator of the museum, gave a talk on "Highways and History" which is published in the present number of the magazine.

Twenty additions were made to the active membership of the society during the quarter ending September 30. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

CROW WING: Emma K. Johnson of Crosby.

HENNEPIN: Fred M. Bailey, Amos S. Deinard, Walter W. Finke, and Monroe P. Kelly, all of Minneapolis.

ISANTI: Dr. D. E. McBroom of Cambridge.

RAMSEY: Coates P. Bull, Naomi Lundberg, Eugenie F. McGorerty, Sue M. Mason, Martha Munz, George S. Nason, Frederick S. Nelson, and Celina M. Pilger, all of St. Paul.

ST. LOUIS: Dorothy A. Paul of Duluth.

SWIFT: Ward S. Clarke of Benson.

YELLOW MEDICINE: Charles O. Knutson of Canby.

NONRESIDENT: H. O. Bernbrock of Waterloo, Iowa; the Reverend Sidney B. Nelson of Chicago; and Dr. C. E. Schoolcraft of Watertown, South Dakota.

The Chatfield Historical Society and the Dodge County Historical Society have become annual institutional members of the society; and the Faribault High School has become a subscriber to the society's current publications.

The society lost four active members by death during the three months ending September 30: James B. Beals of St. Paul, July 9;

Charles A. Forbes of St. Paul, July 21; Louis L. Dodge of Minneapolis, August 27; and Martin L. Jacobson of St. Paul, September 4. Dr. Carl Russell Fish of Madison, Wisconsin, a corresponding member, died on July 9.

The society's summer tour and convention, held from July 14 to 16, are described by Mr. N. N. Rönning in an article entitled "When the Past Becomes Alive," which appears in the August issue of *The Friend*, a Minneapolis magazine of which Mr. Rönning is the editor.

The society's exhibit in the State Departments Building at the state fair in September centered about a huge map showing the progress of historical marking along the state's trunk highways. This map was flanked by miniature exhibits illustrating the treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the discovery of Lake Itasca. A costume exhibit depicting a "Quilting Bee in the Sixties" was displayed by the society in the Woman's Building. Both exhibits attracted the attention of thousands of visitors.

A new tier of book stacks on floor C of the library has recently been installed and has done much to relieve the problem of space occasioned by the steady expansion of the library in recent years.

Mr. Donald E. Van Koughnet, the society's research and general assistant, attended the first annual meeting of the Dodge County Historical Society at Kasson on August 22 and discussed a "A Working Program for a County Historical Society." Among other speakers at the same meeting was Mr. George R. Martin of Minneapolis, a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society and a former resident of Dodge County.

The superintendent spoke before the Cosmopolitan Club of Minneapolis on September 29, taking as his subject "Minnesota Development as Viewed by Contemporary Observers." The curator of the museum presented an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" before the St. Paul Exchange Club on August 3; and spoke to the Brown Study Club on September 27 and to the St. Paul Knife and Fork Club on September 30 on "Early Minnesota."

An account of the "Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association" is contributed by Mr. Blegen to

the September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The meeting in question was held at Lincoln, Nebraska, from April 28 to 30.

Recent users of the society's manuscript and library materials have included Professor Paul C. Phillips of Missoula, Montana, investigating the fur trade, and Professor James Barnes of Philadelphia, studying the financial problems of the West in the eighties and nineties.

The society's staff accepted the Governor's economy proposal in the matter of a payless vacation as applied to the fiscal year ending June 30. Under this plan in its final form state employees who received salaries of one hundred dollars or more a month gave up a half month's salary. Those paid less than one hundred dollars a month relinquished one week's salary.

Two members of the staff, both of whom have given faithful service to the society, have recently resigned. Miss Clara M. Penfield, cataloguer, tendered her resignation effective September 1, owing to long-continued illness; and her place has been filled by the appointment of Miss Leone Ingram, until recently cataloguer of the public schools of Hibbing. Mrs. Elizabeth Ross resigned as catalogue typist on October 1 to give her time to home duties, and her position has been filled by the appointment of Miss Louise Hedberg, who has served the society at various times in the past as a special assistant.

The curator of manuscripts took advantage of a vacation trip in the East during the summer to pay a visit to Ottawa in search of historical material. At the Public Archives of Canada she discovered not a few items of special Minnesota interest, including a number of important drawings and sketches. She took occasion also to investigate the repair and binding shop conducted by the archives; and on her return journey she visited the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The preparation of an inventory of the personal collections of manuscripts belonging to the society is nearing completion under the supervision of the curator of manuscripts.

## ACCESSIONS

Four letters written to Lord and Lady Selkirk in 1818 and 1819 by Bishop Joseph O. Plessis and other Catholic missionaries in the Red River settlements have been copied for the society by the photostatic process from the originals in the possession of Sir Charles Hope-Dunbar of St. Mary's Isle, Scotland. Transcripts of fourteen letters to and from Bishop Plessis and Father Joseph N. Provencher have been made for the society from the originals in the diocese of Quebec.

Copies of thirty-four items from the papers of George Johnston, the originals of which are in the Carnegie Public Library at Sault Ste. Marie, have been made for the society from photostats in the possession of the Marquette County Historical Society. They include Johnston's reminiscences of his life as a fur-trader and an Indian agent, in which he gives accounts of the running of the Sioux-Chippewa boundary line and of the negotiation of the treaty of Fond du Lac in 1826. The other items in the collection are letters from Johnston's brother-in-law, Henry R. Schoolcraft, who appears to have obtained from the trader much information about the language and legends of the Chippewa.

A copy of the "Memoirs of Henry Poehler," who came to Minnesota in 1853 and had an interesting and varied career as a pioneer merchant at Henderson, as the leader of a party that transported government stores to Fort Totten, Dakota Territory, in 1867, as a member of a firm known as the Pacific Elevator Company, and as a member of the state and national legislatures, has been presented by Mr. William A. Marin of Minneapolis, whose wife is a niece of Poehler.

Photostatic copies of the population schedules for Brown and Cottonwood counties in the special Minnesota census of 1857 have been added recently to the manuscript census records in the possession of the society. That for Brown County was obtained from the census bureau at Washington; that for Cottonwood County is the gift of the Reverend H. O. Hendrickson of Humboldt, Iowa.

Two letters written by Governor Alexander Ramsey in 1862 to Simon Stevens, concerning the disposition of a battery of rifled can-

non presented by General Henry S. Sanford to the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, have been received from Mr. Edwin H. Frost of Yonkers, New York.

Three Civil War letters written by A. P. Davies of the Ninth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry have been presented by Mrs. J. A. Davies of St. Paul. In one of them, dated January 30, 1865, Davies wrote to his wife: "The prospects of Peace seem to grow brighter every day & we all hope we have fought our last battle in this war. The Rebs cant hold out much longer for the want of ground to fight on. They come in here and give themselves up every day."

A picture of what is said to be the oldest house in St. Paul, now located at 181 Ramsey Street; and a copy of a statement about its history dictated by Mrs. Mary Irvine Fuller to Mrs. Abbe Fuller Abbe, who at one time owned the house, have been added to the Fuller Papers by Miss Abby Abbe Fuller of St. Paul.

Mr. F. E. Daigneau of Austin has compiled and presented a genealogy of his family.

Some material about Dutch settlement in Minnesota at Friesland and Groningen and in Chippewa County is included in a lengthy and detailed autobiography of Mr. Theodore F. Kock of Berkeley, California, a copy of which has been made for the society by his son, Mr. Theodore W. Kock of St. Paul. The writer, a native of Holland, was engaged in exporting cattle from that country to the United States from 1884 to 1886; and thereafter he was interested in real estate enterprises in various parts of the country.

A notebook containing information about scholarships of the Seabury Divinity School at Faribault and about students who received them during the years from 1892 to 1912; a diocesan ledger for the years from 1893 to 1899; and some fifty photographs and letters, mainly of bishops in the United States, have been added by the Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Faribault to the archives of the Minnesota diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church, in the custody of the society (see *ante*, 11: 319).

A letter written in 1926 by General Eli L. Huggins, who in 1851 as a boy of nine was present at the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, and an article entitled "Story of Medicine Lodge Known as Juneaux's

Post" by Samuel O'Connell have been presented by General William C. Brown of Denver. In 1875 and 1876 O'Connell was the bookkeeper at the post that he describes, which was situated at the mouth of Frenchman's Creek on the Milk River in Montana. Of special interest is his account of the Indians and Red River half-breeds who lived around the post. The writer states that in a single year eight thousand buffalo robes, a thousand bales of pemmican, and some smaller pelts were collected in trade from these people.

A group of some thirty letters and documents dating from 1895 to 1932 have been added by Mr. Henry B. Wenzell of Stillwater to the society's collection of Wenzell Papers (see *ante*, 12:428). They include letters from St. Paul lawyers and judges pertaining to his position as supreme court reporter, together with some correspondence touching life insurance.

Blueprint copies of papers concerning the Mountain Iron and the Missabe Mountain mines have been presented by the author, Mr. Hansen Evesmith of Fargo, who was formerly an assistant to Cassius C. Merritt and treasurer of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railway and affiliated mining corporations.

Copies of the addresses that were made at a meeting of the Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis on May 16, 1931, in tribute to Professor Willis M. West, the well-known historian, who was head of the history department of the University of Minnesota for twenty years, have been presented by Mr. S. Albert Stockwell of Minneapolis. The speakers included Dr. Lotus D. Coffman, Mrs. Arthur Brin, Professor Albert W. Rankin, Professor Norman Wilde, and Mr. Benjamin Drake.

An historical sketch of the Bethlehem Lutheran congregation at Hills, by J. N. Jacobson of that place, is the gift of the author. The paper was read on July 3 at the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the congregation.

A master's thesis on "Elling Eielsen, Pioneer Lay Preacher and First Norwegian Lutheran Pastor in America," submitted by Clarence J. Carlsen in 1932 at the University of Minnesota, has been received from the university's history department. A number of term papers prepared by students at the university for a course in

Minnesota history have been presented by the writers; these include "Food Production and Preparation in Minnesota Territory," by Evadene A. Burris; "The Hazelwood Republic," by Dorothy J. Nickells; and "Minnesota's First Literary Magazine," by Dorothy Paul. Miss Paul discusses the *Frontier Monthly*, which was published at Hastings from April to June, 1859.

A bound volume of miscellaneous newspapers for the years 1898 and 1899, many of which were published at Manila and all of which contain information about the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Philippines, is the gift of General Charles McC. Reeve of Minnetonka Beach. He has presented also a few uncirculated coins struck by the United States in 1903 and 1904 for use in the Philippine Islands, and the uniform that he wore when serving as colonel of the Thirteenth Minnesota in the battle of Manila.

A number of Evangelical Lutheran church periodicals and reports have been added to the society's growing collection of records of this denomination by the Reverend George Fritschel of Dubuque, Iowa.

An eye-testing instrument and forty-eight pairs of spectacles of types used in the seventies have been presented by Dr. Charles E. Fawcett of Stewartville.

An iron safe used by George W. Armstrong when acting as the last territorial and first state treasurer of Minnesota is the gift of his son, Dr. John M. Armstrong of St. Paul.

A handsome brass ewer, probably of Persian workmanship, bought near Bethlehem about 1890, has been presented by Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis.

Miss Ann Zeilsdorf and Miss Julia Shepard of St. Paul have added to the society's military collection nurse's uniforms that they wore while serving in France during the World War.

Several dresses worn in the late nineties, from Miss Genevieve Loring of St. Paul are among recent additions to the society's costume collection. Articles recently added to the domestic life collection include a small ironstone platter, from Mrs. A. Calof of St. Paul; a wooden inkstand, from Mrs. John W. Willis of St. Paul; an old-fashioned flatiron of the type used in the seventies, from Miss

Anna T. Reimer of St. Paul; a quilt top made by Mrs. Rebecca Fleener and presented by her daughter, Mrs. Maud Goutermont of Dodge Center; and a parasol dating from 1825, from Mrs. Nettie L. Dugas of St. Paul.

Gifts of pictures received recently by the society include a view of the Sioux War stockade at Vernon Center, from Mrs. S. H. Grannis of St. Cloud; a photograph of Judge Hascal R. Brill of St. Paul and a group picture of the Ramsey County district judges from 1875 to 1928, from Mrs. Charles Bechhoefer of St. Paul; and portraits of Judge John McLean and of Israel and George W. Garrard, from Mrs. George W. Garrard of Frontenac.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

"Local Historical Societies" are discussed by four contributors, each representing a different point of view, in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September. "The Importance of Local History in the Writing of General History" is the subject of the first paper, which is by a Canadian archivist, D. C. Harvey; "The Problems and Opportunities of Canadian Historical Societies" are set forth by Louis Blake Duff; the activities of "English Local Historical Societies" are described by F. M. Powicke; and "Local Historical Societies in the United States" are discussed by Dixon Ryan Fox. Professor Fox devotes a large part of his article to an account of state historical societies, but he admits that "there are some who would say that state history is scarcely local, reserving that term for that of smaller subdivisions, the county and the town." He concludes by listing some of the "bibliographical guides to local history in the United States."

"The local Historical Society, guided by a group of citizens, preserves the records of the community's past for the benefit of the present. It has a great responsibility. It is the *Community Memory*," writes Dr. Carl E. Guthe in an article on "The Historical Society as the Community's Memory," published in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's *Museum Echoes* for October. The writer points out that an active historical society must gather and preserve written records and objects of historic interest, and that if it "is to be of service it must analyze the lessons which its records teach, and formulate practical methods of enabling the present living community to understand and appreciate these lessons which its memory has learned."

How the Rochester Museum of Arts and Science coöperates with the public schools of the city through an extension division in "Teaching History by Museum Methods" is explained by Arthur C. Parker in *New York History* for July. "The museum has made a survey of the needs of schools and teachers. It has studied the things that pupils like and which attract and hold their attention." It furnishes for class-room use costumes and objects illustrative of

the history of a given country or period, in order to make that history live for the pupils.

A recent undertaking of the Indiana Historical Society is the organization of a high school section, which is intended to "bring to teachers of history the suggestions and the results growing out of the work of the state and local historical societies," and to "enlist teachers and pupils in the activities of historical societies." The September issue of the society's publication, the *Indiana History Bulletin*, is a "High School Number" and is devoted to problems arising from the teaching of local history in the high schools. Among the subjects discussed briefly in the issue are "Indiana History in the High School" by Paul Seehausen, "The Place of the Local History Club in Our High Schools" by Mrs. Sadie B. Hatcher, and "The Museum as an Aid in Teaching History" by L. Talbert Buck.

That the Simon Fraser who was in charge at Grand Portage in 1797 "passed from the scene as Simon Fraser the explorer came into it" is revealed by W. S. Wallace in an article on "Namesakes in the Fur-trade," which appears in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September. The writer discloses the interesting fact that the fur trade can boast three Alexander Mackenzies, three Alexander Henrys, four Roderick McKenzies, three John McLeods, and numerous John McDonalds or John McDonells. These are only a few of the confusing "pitfalls with which the history of the fur-trade was beset" and which Mr. Wallace enumerates in his interesting article.

The archivist of the province of Quebec, Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy, states in the introduction to his *Rapport* for 1930-31 that "the list of [*voyageur*] engagements for the West, begun last year by M. E.-Z. Massicotte, is continued in this *Rapport*. We hope to finish it next year. This list has been a revelation to hundreds of genealogists. . . . Our ancestors had a taste for adventure, for far journeys. They left for the West intending to return at the end of a year, or of two or three years, but many lost their lives in those wildernesses and how many more ended by settling there! M. Massicotte's list has attracted the attention of several historical societies in the United States, and we have had to answer many requests for information concerning these western engagements." A

calendar of engagements for the years from 1670 to 1745, published in an earlier *Rapport*, is reviewed *ante*, 12:306; the present calendar covers the period from 1746 to 1752. For the first four years there are only occasional engagements for the Minnesota country. With 1750 Grand Portage begins to be named, and in 1751 and 1752 engagements for that post become numerous. This is evidence, it would seem, that the Grand Portage route came to be the general means of entry into the interior in 1750. "Fond du Lac Supérieur" is also mentioned for the first time in 1750. In that year, also, the name of Paul de la Margue, sieur de Marin, begins to be mentioned frequently as the person to whom men for the post on Lake Pepin engaged themselves.

G. L. N.

Extracts from letters written by a fur-trader, Litle Wiley, operating in the region west of Mackinac during the years following the War of 1812 are quoted in an article by John Lienhard in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 24. Some of the letters are owned by Mr. Richard Sackett of Minneapolis, a descendant of Wiley.

Mr. Edgar M. Ledyard's list of "American Posts," which began publication in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* for April, 1928, is continued in the issue of that magazine for July (see *ante*, p. 107). The present installment begins with Fort McPherson and closes with Fort Pitt. Among the posts of interest for the Minnesota region that are included are the Fond du Lac post of the Northwest Company; Fort Perrot, which, according to Mr. Ledyard, was "also called Fort Bon Secours"; and "Pike's Stockade" near Little Falls.

In a biography of *Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia, 1931. 615 p.) that is a minute examination of national politics in the fifties, Roy F. Nichols has included a chapter on "The Territorial Problem." Here Minnesota appears as one of the harassed president's chief worries in 1855. The problems of that territory, writes Mr. Nichols, "were not so much those of frontier instability as the more sophisticated questions of the relations of railroads to the public lands and party politics." Then ensues a description of the struggle between Pierce's appointee, Governor Willis A. Gorman, and Henry M. Rice, who headed one group of Minnesota's divided Democracy. Rice, whose land speculation at Superior, Wisconsin, allied him closely to such national Democrats

as Douglas, Hunter, and Breckenridge, was a powerful opponent of a president whose honesty forbade him to wink at the railroad plans of such men of his own party, yet who had to depend on them for administration policies. To determine the correctness of Rice's charge that Gorman was unsuitable for his position, and probably hoping that the evidence would show that he was not, Pierce sent a secret agent, J. Ross Browne, to Minnesota to study the situation. Browne's report of Gorman's competency and integrity infuriated Rice and led to a heated interview between Rice, Douglas, and the president. As a result, Pierce's private secretary, Sidney Webster, was sent to Minnesota to investigate further. When he returned to Washington six weeks later, Gorman was not removed and the "Superior" group were not on friendly terms with the president. The incident is of interest primarily as showing Pierce's innate honesty; it also calls attention to the land speculation in the Minnesota area in which many prominent Southerners were involved.

G. L. N.

Philip G. Auchampaugh is the author of a study of *J. Glancy Jones and the Nomination of James Buchanan* which has been published as number 1 of a series of pamphlets known as *Topics from American History* (8 p.).

Jane Grey Swisshelm is described as a "woman who cared not a whit what proprieties she offended with her lively pen, and rather enjoyed shocking the timorous" in an article on "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," which is contributed by Bertha-Monica Stearns to the *American Historical Review* for July. The writer describes Mrs. Swisshelm's journalistic activities from 1848 to 1857 in Pittsburgh, where she edited a "racy paper" known as the *Saturday Visiter*. Her attitudes on slavery, temperance, woman suffrage, and other problems of the middle century, as set forth in this periodical, are described by Miss Stearns. She notes that in 1857 Mrs. Swisshelm removed to Minnesota, where she "established a St. Cloud *Visiter* and continued until 1863 to discuss fearlessly the questions of the day."

"The Influence of the Foreign-born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860" is appraised by Donnal V. Smith in an article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. The

writer points out that most of the Europeans who went to the Northwest in the late fifties were home-seekers and that many of them were refugees with "definite political notions unwelcome in the old country." They wanted to be assured of "personal liberty and universal manhood suffrage," and the states of the Northwest, anxious to attract immigrants, "enfranchised the foreign-born shortly after their declaration to become citizens, the interval ranging from four months in Minnesota to thirty in Michigan." That the vote of these enfranchised foreigners played a large part in the Republican victory of 1860 is demonstrated by Mr. Smith.

A brief review of "The Evolution of Poles in America" is contributed by Dr. A. Nawench-Marawski to the June issue of *Poland America*. In an article entitled "On Teaching the Polish Language in America," which appears in the August issue of the same magazine, Dr. Marie Krol points out that the University of Minnesota is the "only state university" that offers extension courses in Polish.

"Population Changes in the West North Central States, 1900-1930" are analyzed by Wilson Cape in an article published in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for July. Among the topics discussed and set forth in tabular form are size and density of population, racial composition, nativity, sex composition, age, urbanization, occupations, education, and marital condition. The states included in the study are Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

An abstract of William J. Petersen's doctoral dissertation on "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi 1823-1861" appears in the *Abstracts in History* published by the University of Iowa as volume 10, number 2 of its *Studies in the Social Sciences* (170 p.). Dr. Petersen has published in *MINNESOTA HISTORY* a number of articles based upon chapters in his thesis (see *ante*, 9: 347-362, 11: 123-144, 13: 221-243). Among the other dissertations abstracts of which appear in this volume are "The Settlement and Economic Development of the Territory of Dakota," by Harold E. Briggs, and "The History of the Danes in Iowa," by Thomas P. Christensen.

The account of "The Voyage of the *Virginia*" which William J. Petersen contributes to the August issue of the *Palimpsest* supplements his earlier article on "The 'Virginia,' the 'Clermont' of the

Upper Mississippi," published *ante*, 9:347-362. In the second article the writer stresses Beltrami's description of the upper Mississippi country, and this portion of the narrative is illustrated by a map locating the points mentioned by the Italian explorer.

"A Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets by Douglas C. McMurtrie on Typography and on the History of Printing," compiled by Martha E. Heartman, appears in the *American Book Collector* for June and July. Many works dealing with the beginnings of printing in the Middle West are included.

Historical material is skillfully blended with fiction in a new novel by Mrs. Maud Hart Lovelace entitled *The Charming Sally* (New York, 1932). The story revolves around a troupe of British actors who produced plays in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard shortly before the outbreak of the Revolution. As in *Early Candlelight*, the author proves herself a careful student of the period and localities with which she deals.

A "general survey of the westward movement of the cultivation of oats" by Harrison J. Thornton is published under the title "Oats in History" in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July.

"The Northern Overland Route to Montana" from Minnesota is the subject of an article by W. M. Underhill in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July. Considerable attention is given to the Fisk expeditions, the first of which, in 1862, made the northern route in that year "the most important means of emigration to Montana from the East." A few expeditions of the later sixties are briefly mentioned — one organized at Faribault in the spring of 1866, another piloted by Thomas Holmes in the same year, and the Davy expedition of 1867. The narrative is based for the most part on government documents, Montana newspapers, and secondary sources. It may be of interest to note that the Alvord memorial commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is planning to publish a volume of diaries and other original materials relating to the Fisk expeditions.

The Illinois State Historical Society is to be congratulated on the attractive format in which the issue of its *Journal* for April-July appears. Among the articles in the number are two of special in-

terest to Minnesotans: a study of "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud" by Philip G. Auchampaugh of the Duluth State Teachers College, and an account of "Galena, Looking Back" by Alice L. Snyder, a pioneer resident of the Illinois city. The latter writer gives an entertaining picture of life in the mining town that was for many years a gateway to the upper Northwest. In her account of steamboat traffic at Galena she mentions the "Virginia" as the "first steamboat to ascend the Fever River . . . in 1822, on her way to Forts Crawford and Snelling." It should be pointed out that the "Virginia" made its epoch-making trip in 1823, and that it merely stopped at the mouth of the Fever River on its way north.

Life at the mission station and trading post of La Pointe in the late thirties and early forties is vividly pictured by Florantha T. Sproat, the wife of Granville Sproat, a teacher in the local mission, in a series of letters, the first of which appear in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September. The letters were written to members of Mrs. Sproat's family at Middleborough, Massachusetts, and are of an intimate nature. "I am my own servant," she wrote to her mother on September 20, 1838. "I scour my own knives, candlesticks and tin pans, which is no small job. I make my own butter." In a later letter she describes the dog trains of the north as the "most laughable curiosities I have witnessed since I have been in the country. To see two or three half-sized dogs, sometimes in tandem, sometimes abreast, conveying at full speed, two or three full-sized grown people must look laughable to anyone. I can think of nothing else but Cinderella's pumpkin coach and mice." Other letters will follow in future issues of the magazine.

The relation of history and geography is brought out in interesting fashion by Glenn T. Trewartha in a valuable study of "The Prairie du Chien Terrace: Geography of a Confluence Site," which appears in the June issue of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. With considerable detail the author pictures conditions in Prairie du Chien at the various stages of its history as "an Indian village, a frontier fur-trading community for nearly a century and a half, a military post under three flags, a bustling river and railroad town of commercial fame," and he points out that "each of these successive tenures profited by the river location and the confluence site." He then goes on to show that the same conditions

that caused the town's prosperity are "now acting to circumscribe its services and handicap its prosperity," and that with the increase of railroads and the decline of steamboating the location "ceased to be strategic." The article is profusely illustrated with views and maps.

The Wisconsin committee on land use and forestry has issued a report on *Forest Land Use in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1932. 156 p.) which includes much material on the development of lumbering and allied industries in that state. For example, there is a section devoted to the "Decline of the Lumber Industry," and another dealing with the "Growth of the Pulp and Paper Industry." A chapter on the "Use of Land for Agriculture," which stresses the "historical development of agricultural use," is contributed by Professor George S. Wehrwein of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor F. I. Herriott adds a number of chapters on "The Origins of the Indian Massacre between the Okobojis, March 8, 1857," in the *Annals of Iowa* for July, to the account of the Spirit Lake massacre begun in the April issue (see *ante*, p. 335). In the present installment the writer deals particularly with the causes of the uprising of 1857.

Mr. Arthur J. Larsen, head of the newspaper department in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, has gleaned from the files of the *Faribault Republican* for 1875 and 1876 and edited for publication in the July issue of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* a series of interesting letters from Minnesotans who participated in "The Black Hills Gold Rush." In a brief introduction, Mr. Larsen outlines the story of the gold rush and provides a setting for the letters, which were written to the editor of the *Republican*. Their publication seems to have done much to increase popular interest in the Black Hills among the residents of Rice County. Several of the letters are from Dr. Joseph G. Bemis, the first mayor of Custer City.

The history, geography, and government of one of Minnesota's neighboring states are presented for pupils in the upper grades in a textbook entitled *South Dakota: Its Past, Present, and Future*, by Ralph V. Hunkins and John C. Lindsey (New York, 1932. 312 p.). Two of the seven units into which the book is divided deal

with the history of the state. Indians, explorers, and traders are covered in one; in the other such subjects as settlement, the Indian wars, the Black Hills gold rush, and the struggle for statehood are taken up.

*A History of the Department of South Dakota, Grand Army of the Republic* by Alice B. Muller has been published as volume 16, part 1, of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* (1932. 500 p.). Among the miscellaneous items that are scattered through its pages are an historical sketch of the department, accounts of its various encampments, brief biographical statements about prominent members, and a list of posts.

Brief notes on "Colorado Cities—Their Founding and the Origin of Their Names" are contributed by LeRoy R. Hafen to the *Colorado Magazine* for September.

A useful compendium of historical and economic facts, which has some items of Minnesota interest, is a two-volume *Dictionnaire général de biographie, histoire, littérature, agriculture, commerce, industrie, et des arts, sciences, mœurs, coutumes, institutions politiques et religieuses du Canada*, by Le R. P. L. Le Jeune (Ottawa, 1931). Among the names included for treatment are John Jacob Astor, Charles-Jean Baptiste Chaboillez, Julien Dubuque, Du Lhut, Jean Baptiste Faribault, Gabriel Franchere, John C. Frémont, Groseilliers, Father Hennepin, the two Alexander Henrys, Sir William Johnson, Louis Jolliet, Paul Kane, Father Albert Lacombe, Lahontan, La Jémerais, La Perrière, La Salle, La Tourette, La Vérendrye, Le Sueur, William McGillivray, Dr. John McLoughlin, the three Marins (Charles-Paul, Paul, and Joseph), Jean Nicolet, Jacques de Noyon, Pierre Pepin, Nicolas Perrot, Radisson, Robert Rogers, and David Thompson. Most of the sketches are brief; and the bibliographical references following each item are few and do not always call attention to the most authoritative material. For instance, the compiler seems totally unaware of Dr. Louise P. Kellogg's *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, though it is by all odds the best reference for many of the explorers of New France. Gordon Davidson's *The North West Company* does not appear to be on Father Le Jeune's shelves. Indeed, he seems hardly aware of the great interest in New France and in Canadian and western history that has developed in the United States and that

has produced works vastly superior to many of the volumes he cites. Nor should the charge be directed alone to Father Le Jeune. Generally speaking, French-Canadian authors do not know the work of American historians in Canadian history.

Some curious mistakes occur, such as the statement under "Sioux" that in the uprising of that tribe in 1862 Colonel Charles Flandrau dispersed the Indians. Actually, Colonel Flandrau played a minor rôle as compared with men like Sibley and Sully. The date of the completion of Fort William is given as 1801, though that was rather the year of its commencement. John Jacob Astor's death occurred in 1848, not in 1846. But the most astounding remark occurs in the sketch of Father Hennepin. The friar is credited with finding the source of the Mississippi! Romancer though he was, Hennepin never went so far as to claim that the "Lake of the Issati"—which is Mille Lacs, and not Leech Lake, as identified by Father Le Jeune—was the source of the Mississippi. The compiler even states that official recognition of Hennepin's service as discoverer of the source of the Mississippi has been accorded by Minnesota in recent years. The treatment of Hennepin is more detailed than that of most other historic personages, and some of the author's references and facts in this connection are worthy of notice. He gives authority for the date 1705 as that of Hennepin's death in Utrecht.

Especially valuable in these two volumes are the illustrations and maps. E.-Z. Massicotte's charming series of French-Canadian life is reproduced to the number of a dozen. A map, in volume 2, page 371, which shows Pembina, St. Francis Xavier, and Wabassimong—all places where Indian missions were established between the years 1818 and 1830—and another that appears opposite it are unusually interesting; both serve as illustrations of the mission stations of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Canada and the northwestern United States. They also show the close relation between fur-trading posts and mission stations.

G. L. N.

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Two outstanding figures in the history of Minnesota—James J. Hill and Archbishop John Ireland—are the subjects of sketches in volume 9 of the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932) edited by Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned

Societies. The life of the Empire Builder is reviewed by William J. Cunningham; Richard J. Purcell is the author of the account of the pioneer Catholic prelate's varied career. In this volume also are sketches of three Norwegian-American churchmen whose careers were connected for longer or shorter periods of time with Minnesota—Elling Hove, Gjermund Hoyme, and Kristofer N. Janson. The first two accounts are by J. Magnus Rohne, the third is by George T. Flom. Dr. Solon J. Buck contributes sketches of James K. Hosmer, author and librarian, and of Governor Lucius F. Hubbard; Belle Rankin is the author of a biography of Margaret Evans Huntington, pioneer educator of Carleton College. Other sketches of interest to Minnesotans are those of Bayard T. Holmes, surgeon, by James M. Phalen; Cyril G. Hopkins, agricultural chemist, by Ernest E. De Turk; Jackson Sheldon, Presbyterian missionary, by Robert J. Diven; Jesse James, outlaw, by W. J. Ghent; and Dr. Douglass Houghton, geologist, by George P. Merrill. The subject of the latter account, it will be remembered, was the physician who accompanied Schoolcraft when he discovered Lake Itasca in 1832. Mr. Merrill mentions the Schoolcraft expedition of 1831, but says nothing of the northern Minnesota exploration of 1832. Nor does he allude to Dr. Houghton's unpublished manuscript diary of the Lake Itasca expedition.

"The peculiar character of the Twin City district is the type of 'twinning' found there, that of two almost complete cities separated, not merely politically but geographically, and yet in close contact with each other along one common zone," the Midway district, writes Richard Hartshorne in an article on "The Twin City District: A Unique Form of Urban Landscape," which appears in the *Geographical Review* for July. That the type of contact of St. Paul and Minneapolis is unique is demonstrated by a comparison of these cities with other "twin cities" in the United States. The historical backgrounds of the cities, especially during the period of settlement, are responsible for the origins of their unusual position, according to Mr. Hartshorne, but he goes on to point out that their "present development must be studied in relation to the structure of the all-important city-building factor of the region—the railroads." The growth of two centers in place of one has depended upon the "development of two complete rail centers for the common region."

Such double development took place because "St. Paul was situated at the head of main river navigation, at the junction of minor navigable branches, on the outside of a great bend, and at a site most convenient for gaining access to the river; Minneapolis-St. Anthony was situated at the most convenient river crossing and at the source of water power from the falls."

"An attempt to analyze quantitatively the changes in the country newspapers of the state of Minnesota" is made by Irene Barnes Taeuber in an article entitled "Changes in the Content and Presentation of Reading Material in Minnesota Weekly Newspapers 1860-1929," which appears in the *Journalism Quarterly* for September. The study is based upon a measurement of samples of weekly newspapers in the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society—four papers for 1860, six for 1870, fourteen for 1880, nineteen for 1890, twenty-nine for 1900 and 1910, thirty for 1920, and twenty-nine for 1929. The author found that "approximately 50 per cent of the space in the average paper in all the years studied consisted of advertisements," and that "from 1880 through 1910 approximately 40 per cent of the reading content of the average newspaper was given to magazine material, but after 1910 there was a consistent decrease to approximately 25 per cent in 1929."

Beaver Bay and Two Harbors were the scenes for the 1932 sessions of the North Shore Historical Assembly, the fourth annual joint meeting of the historical societies of Cook, Lake, and St. Louis counties. At an afternoon session held at Beaver Bay Mrs. Florence C. Slater presented a paper on "Beaver Bay, the First County Seat of Lake County," and a marker erected on the site of an old Chippewa cemetery was dedicated by Mr. Narcisse Weesh-kooob of Grand Marais. Among the speakers at the evening session, which was held in the courthouse at Two Harbors, were Mr. Thomas Owens, who gave an illustrated talk on the "Arrowhead Pioneers and Associates in the Steel Industry," and Senator Charles E. Adams, who presented a paper on "The North Shore of Lake Superior between Minnesota Point and Mokomani-sibi, Knife River."

That the Kensington rune stone "may be the earliest tangible relic of Christianity in the New World . . . and that Catholic men would thus have walked in Minnesota, in the present Archdiocese of

St. Paul, 160 years before Columbus landed on San Salvador" is the conclusion reached by John LaFarge after reading Hjalmar J. Holand's volume on the Kensington rune stone. He contributes an article on "The Medieval Church in Minnesota" to the Catholic review, *America*, for July 9.

Installments of Mr. Irving H. Hart's "Early History of Sandy Lake," which began publication in the *McGregor Pilot Review* on June 9 (see *ante*, p. 339), continue to appear in that paper. The narrative includes chapters on the Chippewa conquest of the Sandy Lake region, with accounts of the Sioux-Chippewa battles at Sandy Lake and Crow Wing; on the coming of the white man, with special attention to Perrault's trading activities; on the "Great Fur Companies at Sandy Lake," particularly the Northwest and American Fur companies; and on "Later Chippewa Sioux Warfare." In connection with the latter subject, "The Story of the Battle of Kaposia" as told by Beengwa is reprinted from *MINNESOTA HISTORY* for December, 1928.

The Sioux-Chippewa battle at Shakopee in 1858 is described by Mr. E. J. Pond, who witnessed the conflict, in the *Southern Minnesotan* for October. The "Romance of Minnesota River Steamboat Days" is the subject of another article in this issue.

"August, 1862" is the title under which Dr. William J. Mayo publishes an account of the Sioux War and its influence on the career of his father, Dr. William W. Mayo, in the *Proceedings* of the staff meetings of the Mayo Clinic for August 3. The writer describes the services of Dr. Mayo during the siege of New Ulm, and he tells of the experiences of Mrs. Mayo, who remained in Le Sueur during the outbreak. Dr. Mayo relates that after the condemned Sioux were executed at Mankato in December, 1862, his father obtained the body of Cut Nose, one of the leaders in the uprising. The pioneer physician "cleaned and articulated the skeleton, which is today one of the prized possessions of The Mayo Clinic, and on these bones William and Charles Mayo as small boys were taught osteology."

Nearly seven thousand people are estimated to have attended a celebration held on August 21 at Fort Ridgely State Park in commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the battle of Fort

Ridgely. Among the speakers were Mr. Thomas J. McDermott of St. Paul, who described the careers of some prominent Minnesota pioneers; Judge Thomas Hughes of Mankato, who told of the part played in the Sioux Outbreak by the Indian agent, Thomas J. Galbraith; and Mr. E. Dudley Parsons of Minneapolis, who outlined the services of Colonel Timothy Sheehan.

The intimate family life of John W. North, a member of the Minnesota constitutional convention of 1857, a founder of the University of Minnesota, and the man for whom Northfield was named, is pictured in a series of articles by his daughter, Emma North Messer, published under the title "Memories of a Frontier Childhood" in the *Overland Monthly* of San Francisco for August, September, and October, 1924. These articles, in the first of which Mrs. Messer presents her recollections of life on the Minnesota frontier, have only recently come to the attention of the editor of MINNESOTA HISTORY. The writer tells of her father's participation in the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860, and of North's appointment in the next year as surveyor-general of the new territory of Nevada. She pictures the home at Northfield that this appointment forced the family to leave, and describes the long and complicated journey to the new home in the Far West. Later installments of the narrative deal with life in frontier Nevada.

The "Legislative History" of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor is continued in that organization's *Year Book* for 1932 (see *ante*, 12:446).

*Red Wing Seminary: Fifty Years of Service* is the title of a booklet edited by Arthur Rholl and issued by a Norwegian Lutheran school to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary, which was celebrated from September 15 to 17, 1929 (Red Wing, 1930. 148 p.). Many of the addresses presented at this celebration are published in the little volume; perhaps that of widest general interest is an account of the "Founding of Red Wing Seminary" by N. N. Rønning. A "Register of Graduates" of the school is included in the book.

The completion of half a century of cultural activity is being celebrated by the Schubert Club, a St. Paul musical organization, during the present winter. The history of the club is briefly reviewed by its president, Mrs. Charles A. Guyer, in the *Northwest*

*Musical Herald* for September. She lists the artists who have appeared before it and describes its various activities, particularly in the field of musical education.

The story of Minnesota's state flag, which was created in connection with the state's preparation for an exhibit at the Chicago world's fair of 1893, is reviewed by Pearle M. Lindsley in the August issue of *Minneapolis*. The writer relates that more than two hundred designs were submitted in a competition, and that the pattern created by Mrs. Amelia H. Center of Minneapolis was chosen.

A banquet at the Lafayette Hotel on Lake Minnetonka that marked Minnesota's part in the ceremonies connected with the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883 is the subject of an article by E. L. Roney in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Daily News* for June 26. Some of the distinguished visitors among the six hundred guests, including President Chester A. Arthur and Henry Villard, president of the railroad, are listed. The account seems to be based on an interview with Mr. George N. Hillman of St. Paul, who attended the banquet and went west with Villard as his stenographer.

The closing days of the Civil War and the long months of waiting for a muster out that followed for Union soldiers stationed in the South are vividly pictured in a series of letters written by William A. Smith of Company M, First Regiment, Minnesota Heavy Artillery, which are published in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* from August 23 to September 1. Smith, who resided at Cleveland in Le Sueur County, enlisted on February 18, 1865; the first of his letters, which are written to his wife, is dated at Fort Snelling on February 27. His regiment was shortly ordered to Chattanooga, Tennessee, where it remained throughout the war and for some months thereafter. There, on April 6, he wrote: "I believe the war is about to close. We got the news the same day at noon that Richmond was taken. We had a good time in Chattanooga that same day. We fired 26 salutes in our battery. . . . The big guns belowered that evening for five minutes, so that we could not hear or see for smoke." The last letter in the series is dated August 24; Smith was mustered out on September 27. The collection is owned

by Mrs. J. F. Traub of Henning, who is said to have found them "on the highway between Otter Tail and Perham about three years ago." She plans, according to the *Journal*, to turn them over to the Otter Tail County Historical Society.

That Minnesota won a "reputation in the early days as a health resort" is brought out in an article prepared by the Minnesota Public Health Association to promote the sale of 1932 Christmas Seals in the state. According to this account, "with the 26th annual Christmas Seal sale . . . pioneers are recalling how the dread disease of tuberculosis indirectly benefited the state. . . . Distinguished soldiers, statesmen, editors, and physicians came to the upper Mississippi for their health, remaining to leave an imperishable impress on our history."

An interesting little note about the visit to the Minnesota country of Mrs. Alexander Hamilton is printed in the September issue of *Topics in 10 Point*, a trade magazine issued by the Lund Press of Minneapolis. It reads in part:

On the morning of the 26th of June, 1838, the steamer Burlington arrived, for the third time since the opening of navigation, at the mouth of the Minnesota with about 150 soldiers for Fort Snelling and a few tourists.

Among these was a venerable woman who was the daughter of one of the most distinguished men in New York. During the winter of 1780 she was with her father, who was General Philip Schuyler, at Washington's headquarters, Morristown, N. J., and there she charmed, and at the age of 22, married Washington's favorite aide and military secretary, the then young Alexander Hamilton.

She came west in 1838 to visit her son, who was engaged in mining explorations in Wisconsin.

A sketch of the late Maximilian Ernst Robert Toltz, a St. Paul engineer who gained national prominence, has been published by the American Society of Civil Engineers as number 236 of its *Memoirs* (1932. 4 p.).

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The little county of Manomin, composed of eighteen sections of land and now constituting Fridley Township in Anoka County, is described by Merle Potter as "Major Fridley's Kingdom" in a feature article published in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis*

*Journal* for September 4. The writer tells particularly of the threats of secession that came from the county in December, 1860, and he quotes extensively the "latest news from the north" received by "pony express" and published in the *Falls Evening News* of St. Anthony. The activities of Major Abram M. Fridley as Indian agent at Long Prairie and as "king" of Manomin County from 1857 to 1870 are described in some detail.

The "History of the Building of Anoka County's Court House in the Seventies" is set forth by Irving A. Caswell in the *Anoka County Union* for July 6. He tells of the arrangements for the erection of the courthouse that were made in 1877, of the appointment of a building board, of negotiations with architects, and of the completion of the structure in 1878.

A brief history of Foley, with some information about Benton County, appears in the *Foley Independent* for August 24. The history of the *Independent*, which was established in 1899 by DeLacey Wood, is the subject of another article in this issue.

An Indian collection of about fourteen hundred objects assembled by Mr. Frank O. Swain of Lake Crystal has been purchased by the Blue Earth County Historical Society, according to an announcement in the *Mankato Free Press* for July 9. The society has recently opened to the public its museum in Sibley State Park near Mankato.

The manuscript population schedules of the federal census in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society have been employed in an unusual way by Mr. Fred Johnson of New Ulm. With a list of names of persons living in Brown County in 1860 as they appear in the census of that year as a guide, Mr. Johnson has succeeded in obtaining from members or descendants of the families of these individuals more than five thousand portraits of Brown County pioneers.

A history of the Evangelical Emmanuel Lutheran Church of Hamburg, which was established by German settlers in Carver County in 1857, appears in the *Norwood Times* for August 19. Members of the congregation celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the church on August 21.

A parade in which the "Story of Barnesville" was reviewed was the feature of a celebration held to mark the community's sixtieth anniversary on September 5. A special "Jubilee Edition" of the *Barnesville Record-Review*, issued on September 1, includes a survey of the history of the town, historical sketches of some local churches, reminiscences of early settlers, an account of the influence of the railroad on the development of the community, and a history of the local schools.

"In 1857, Nininger and Hastings were Rivals" is the title under which Mr. Dudley S. Brainard's article on Nininger, which appeared in the June issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY, is reprinted in the *Hastings Gazette* for July 29. This issue of the *Gazette* is an anniversary number, calling attention to the passing of seventy-five years since the paper was established in Hastings by Columbus Stebins as the *Independent*. The interesting heading used on the first issue of the *Independent* and some of the articles and editorials published therein are reprinted in the *Gazette*. The paper had an ambitious program in 1857, for it described itself as "a family journal devoted to territorial interests, politics, education, news, commerce, literature, poetry, agriculture and amusement."

In the first number of volume 76 of the *Mantorville Express*, published on August 25, the claim is made that "there are only two papers in Minnesota today that were established prior to the establishment of the Express"—the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *Winona Republican-Herald*. Some information about the founding of the *Express* and a list of its publishers during seventy-five years are included in the "Diamond Anniversary" issue.

An addition to the growing number of local historical societies in Minnesota is the Chatfield Historical Society, which was organized on August 19. The following officers were elected: Mr. G. A. Haven, president; Mrs. G. R. Thompson, first vice president; Mr. L. M. Thurber, second vice president; Mrs. P. H. Laivell, secretary; Miss Ruth Shimer, treasurer. The constitution adopted by the new society is printed in the *Chatfield News* for September 1.

Members of the congregation of the Root River Church of the Brethren at Prairie Queen in Fillmore County celebrated the seventy-sixth anniversary of the founding of their church on July 17. Talks

dealing with the history of the church during various periods from 1856 to 1932 were given by David Ogg, Harvey Fishbaugher, Amy Owen, and John W. Broadwater. A history of the church published in the *Preston Republican* for July 14 reveals the interesting fact that it was established by a group of Dunkards of German ancestry who emigrated from Maryland in 1855.

Installments of a detailed "History of Methodism in Freeborn County" by an anonymous writer have been appearing in the *Alden Advance* since August 25. Credit is given to the Reverend Sylvester N. Phelps for "preaching the first Gospel sermon within the borders of what is now Freeborn County." This event took place on August 31, 1856, at the home of Rufus K. Crum in Moscow Township. The organization of churches in communities throughout the county is described, the writer using the minutes of the local Methodist conference as his source of information.

A memorial marker unveiled with appropriate ceremonies at Freeborn on July 31 bears the following inscription: "In memory of Rev. Wilbur Fisk, soldier, farmer, preacher. Called as pastor of the Congregational Church at Freeborn, Minn., May 16, 1875. Ordained and installed, June 13, 1876. Retired from the active ministry Sept. 12, 1909." A sketch of Fisk appears in the *Evening Tribune* of Albert Lea for August 1.

The first page of the initial number of the *Red Wing Republican*, which was issued on September 4, 1857, is reproduced in facsimile in a "Diamond Jubilee Edition" of the paper published on September 7. A leading article in the issue relates "The Story of the Founding of the Republican" by Lucius F. Hubbard and makes the claim that the paper "is today the oldest paper in the state continuing under its original name." Sketches of the "Editors of the Republic" reveal the fact that they included such prominent Minnesotans as Colonel William Colvill and Tams Bixby. Among other articles in the edition are a brief history of Red Wing and an account of the dairy industry in Goodhue County.

"The First Roads in Vasa Township" was the subject of a talk presented by Mr. E. C. Pearson at a joint meeting of the Goodhue County Historical Society and the Vasa Community Club held at Vasa on July 15.

A private museum on the farm of Mr. William J. Langen near Hokah is described in the *Caledonia Journal* for September 14. Mr. Langen has built a log cabin to house his collection of antiques, many of which illustrate pioneer life in his community.

The Isanti County old settlers, 4-H clubs, and rural schools sponsored an historical pageant presented at Cambridge on August 29 and 30. The performance was divided into episodes, three of which dealt with "Indian Days," "Pioneer Days," and "Social Life in Pioneer Days." Scenes depicting the arrival of Father Hennepin, the organization of the county, the early logging industry, the first school, and the bucket brigade were included.

A feature of the sixth annual observance of the Monson Lake Memorial Association, which was held at Sunburg on August 21, was an historic tour from Willmar to Monson Lake. Along the route of the tour forty-six sites were indicated by numerical standards; the significance of the spots marked was explained on a key sheet issued to all who made the tour. For example, number 4 was on the "boundary line between Monongalia and original Kandiyohi counties—1858 to 1870"; number 33 called attention to a view of "the 'Isle of Refuge' where forty-two refugees found safety three days and nights before making their flight after the massacre"; and number 45 marked "Vikör church, organized in 1871" and the churchyard containing the "state monument erected over the grave of Guri Endreson, the heroine of Kandiyohi History." The program at Sunburg, which commemorated the part played in the Sioux War by the pioneer settlers of Monson Lake, included addresses by the Reverend J. A. O. Stub of Minneapolis, Dr. Alfred Bergin of Lindsborg, Kansas, and Senator Henrik Shipstead. A visit to some historic spots in the vicinity of Monson Lake was made under the direction of the Honorable Victor E. Lawson of Willmar.

The history of St. Wenceslaus Parish of New Prague, which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on September 28, is presented in some detail by Win V. Working in the *New Prague Times* for September 22. Much information about the Bohemian settlers who established New Prague is woven into this story of their church.

Some reminiscences recorded in 1915 by the late O. C. Gregg, who settled in Lynd Township, Lyon County, in 1870, are published in

the *Minneota Mascot* for September 2. The writer is described as a "pioneer in improved agricultural methods, and . . . a leader throughout the Northwest in the launching of farmers' institutes." He tells of the conditions under which the pioneers lived, and he gives a vivid picture of a blizzard in which he was caught in 1872. He relates that with other settlers he sought shelter in a little hotel in Lower Lynd, and that every now and then during the three days that the storm lasted "the door would be pushed open and some other one who had been caught in the storm would come into the room very much as I conceive one does who is thrown upon the shore of the ocean by the surf."

An unusual historical celebration was the "Martin County Diamond Jubilee," which opened on June 26 and reached its climax in a pageant presented at Fairmont on July 2, 3, and 4. The earlier days of the celebration were devoted to local historical programs in the various townships and villages of the county. For example, meetings held at Tenhassen and Lake Belt on the opening day of the jubilee, were marked by reminiscent talks by Mr. Arthur M. Nelson and Mr. E. R. Flygare and by the presentation of church and school histories. Another feature of the celebration was a parade at Fairmont on July 4 in which many of the floats pictured phases of pioneer life. Among those that received prizes or honorable mention were replicas of a log cabin, a sod shanty, old Fort Fairmont, and a pioneer blacksmith shop. Many of the papers and talks presented in connection with local meetings are published in the issues of the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* from June 25 to July 5. A list of 521 pioneers who have lived in Martin County for fifty years or more, with the dates of their arrival and their places of residence, and a page of portraits of "Early Day Leaders of Martin County" appear in the *Sentinel* for June 25.

A successful meeting of the Martin County Historical Society was held at Tenhassen on August 28. Judge Julius E. Haycraft spoke on the county boundaries; Mr. Arthur M. Nelson reviewed the early history of Tenhassen, illustrating his talk with a map of the township on which the original and present owners of the land were indicated; and the Reverend E. H. T. Walther described the immigration of the eighties that gave to Tenhassen the characteristics of a German settlement.

The issue of the *Mille Lacs County Times* of Milaca for September 15 is a "Diamond Jubilee Edition" published to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the county. Two sections of the paper are devoted largely to historical articles and pictures. In addition to a history of the county, there are sketches of the Milaca school district, of the villages of Princeton and Milaca, of Milaca Township, and of the Mille Lacs Indian reservation. Much attention is given to the lumber industry, which was of prime importance in the early development of the county. Pictures of a planing mill and a sawmill at Milaca, of the Milaca dam, and of a logging crew at work illustrate this subject.

The history of the Austin Congregational Church, which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on July 8, 9, and 10, is reviewed in some detail by Mrs. J. N. Nichol森 in the *Austin Daily Herald* for July 13. The account is accompanied by some interesting early views of the church and of Austin. The fifteen charter members of the congregation are named in a brief note about the church by Nina Bascomb Reilly, which appears in the *Herald* for July 5.

A sketch of the history of the Ada Congregational Church, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on September 23, appears in the *Norman County Index* for September 29. The church was founded in 1882 by the Reverend John A. Wells.

A "Golden Jubilee Homecoming" commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the city was celebrated at Fergus Falls on June 28 and 29. Parades with floats of historic interest, a reunion of former students and teachers of the local schools, and addresses were features of the celebration. Among the speakers who chose subjects relating to the history of the community were Mr. N. F. Field, who outlined the history of Fergus Falls; Mr. Elmer E. Adams, who spoke on the "County's Development"; and Judge C. L. Hilton of the Minnesota Supreme Court, who presented his recollections of the Fergus Falls school, which he attended from 1879 to 1884. Judge Hilton's address appears in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for June 28, and Mr. Field's talk is published in instalments in the same paper from June 29 to July 5. The issue of the *Journal* for June 28 is a "Golden Jubilee" edition. It includes articles on the locating and naming of the town site of Fergus Falls by Joe Whitford in the winter of 1856-57; on the founding of the village;

on the history of the *Journal*, which was founded in 1873 by A. J. Underwood; and on the first school in the village. In addition a number of reminiscent accounts appear. The illustrations, which show many early scenes, buildings, and settlers of Fergus Falls, are worthy of special note. A *Souvenir Program* issued in connection with the celebration includes a short history of Fergus Falls (28 p.).

Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont told of the work of the Martin County Historical Society before a well-attended meeting at Glenwood on July 24, when plans were made for the organization of a Pope County historical society (see *ante*, p. 120).

Sketches of many of the pioneers who settled the township of Swede's Forest in Redwood County in the late sixties are included in an account of the "Early History of Swedes Forest" by Helge O. Knutson and Andrew A. Davidson, published in the *Belview Independent* for September 9. As a background for the narrative, some incidents connected with the exploration and history of Redwood County and the upper Minnesota Valley are related, and a short account of the Sioux War is presented. Schools, churches, local industries, and pioneer living conditions are among the subjects that draw the attention of the authors. The article is reprinted in the *Sacred Heart News* for September 15 and 22.

Renville County history is given much space in an illustrated booklet (56 p.) published by the *Olivia Times* with its issue for September 29 as a "Sixtieth Anniversary Edition." Pioneer life in the county, the battle of Birch Cooley and the Sioux War, church organization, the county's part in the World War, and the career of Henry H. Sibley are among the subjects of articles published therein. Brief histories of a number of Renville County cities and villages, including Olivia, Buffalo Lake, Franklin, Morton, Bird Island, Fairfax, North Redwood, Danube, Renville, Sacred Heart, Hector, and Redwood Falls are included. There is also a short account of the history of the *Times*, which was founded in 1872 by Darwin S. Hall.

An historic pageant, a parade, and displays of pioneer objects in store windows were features of a fiftieth anniversary celebration staged at Fairfax on July 3 and 4. The pageant included scenes showing La Framboise's trading post, the activities of the early missionaries, and the coming of the railroad. A number of interesting

historical articles appear in a "Golden Jubilee Edition" of the *Fairfax Standard*, issued on June 30 to call attention to the celebration. Among them are a "History of Fairfax" by Mrs. E. F. Sell and Mrs. Jake Palmer, an account of "How the Site of Fairfax Was Chosen" by Mrs. G. A. Judd, a history of the local churches, a review of the activities of the local women's clubs, and an editorial on the history of the *Standard*.

At a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society held at Cotton on October 1, Mr. Arthur Lampe of Eveleth presented a paper on "The Development of Rural Education in St. Louis County," Mr. John Peterson of Cotton told about "Experiences of the First Settlers of the Cotton District," Mr. W. A. Newman of Duluth spoke on "The Value of County Historical Records and Studies," and Mr. W. T. Jenkins of Cotton read a paper on "Homesteading in the Cotton Region."

Changes that have taken place in the postal service at Belle Plaine since the first post office was established there in 1854 with Edward Berry as postmaster are described by Win V. Working in the *Belle Plaine Herald* for July 28 in one of the series of local history articles that he prepares for that paper. Among other sketches in the same series recently published are three in which Mr. J. E. Townsend, publisher of the *Herald*, presents his recollections of early steamboating on the Minnesota River at Belle Plaine. These articles appear in the issues for September 15, 22, and 29.

Much information about pioneer schools and education in Wabasha County is contained in a census record for 1860 recently discovered in the courthouse at Wabasha. The volume is the subject of an article in the *Wabasha County Herald-Standard* for September 15.

Members of the congregation of the Lake City Methodist Episcopal Church celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding from August 26 to 28. In the *Wabasha County Leader* of August 26, Miss Jennie Baker of Lake City reviews the history of the church and describes the work of the Reverend Chauncey Hobart in organizing the first Methodist group in the community.

A brief history of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Omro Township, Yellow Medicine County, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on September 4, appears in the *Clarkfield Advocate* for September 1.

